

School of Theology at Claremont



1001 1415243



Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California

THE EXCAVATIONS AT
DURA-EUROPOS

PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE FIRST SEASON OF WORK,
SPRING 1928. *Edited by* P. V. C. BAUR *and* M. I. ROSTOV-
TZEFF.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE SECOND SEASON OF WORK,
OCTOBER 1928—APRIL 1929. *Edited by* P. V. C. BAUR
and M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF.

PRELIMINARY REPORT OF THE THIRD SEASON OF WORK,
NOVEMBER 1929—MARCH 1930. *Edited by* P. V. C. BAUR,
M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF *and* ALFRED R. BELLINGER.

THE
Excavations at Dura-Europos

CONDUCTED BY
YALE UNIVERSITY, AND THE FRENCH ACADEMY
OF INSCRIPTIONS AND LETTERS

Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work
October 1930—March 1931

EDITED BY

P. V. C. BAUR

PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN YALE UNIVERSITY

M. I. ROSTOVTZEFF

STERLING PROFESSOR OF ANCIENT HISTORY AND CLASSICAL
ARCHAEOLOGY IN YALE UNIVERSITY

AND

ALFRED R. BELLINGER

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF GREEK AND LATIN IN YALE UNIVERSITY

New Haven · Yale University Press

LONDON · HUMPHREY MILFORD · OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1933

DS
99
D8
Y3
v. 4

V4

Copyright, 1933, by Yale University Press
Printed in the United States of America

All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (except by reviewers for the public press), without written permission from the publishers.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
ABBREVIATIONS	ix
PREFACE	xv
I. GENERAL REPORT	i
Organization	i
Results of the Excavations	2
M. PILLET	
II. ARCHITECTURE	42
Architectural Decoration	42
Painted Terra Cotta Plaques	42
Voussoirs from the Priests' House	53
P. V. C. BAUR	
III. INSCRIPTIONS	56
The Triumphal Arch	56
S. GOULD	
Note on the Architecture of the Triumphal Arch	65
A. B. HATCH	
Altar Dedicated to Zeus Betylos	68
H. SEYRIG	
Greek Inscriptions	72
A. MCN. G. LITTLE and H. T. ROWELL	
Graffiti	79
C. B. WELLES	
Semitic Inscriptions	178
C. C. TORREY	

IV. PICTURES	182
The Sassanian Fresco	182
Note on the Pehlevi Inscriptions	199
A. McN. G. LITTLE	
Graffiti	207
M. ROSTOVTZEFF	
V. REPORT ON FINDS	223
Pottery	223
A. McN. G. LITTLE	
Metal Vases and Molds	229
Statuettes and Reliefs	240
Rings	246
Glass	252
P. V. C. BAUR	
Silver Jewelry and Beads	254
MARY T. NETTLETON	
Coins	259
A. R. BELLINGER	
VI. NEW MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF DURA	283
A. R. BELLINGER	
INDEX OF THE INSCRIPTIONS	285

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES AFTER TEXT

- I. Plan of S. W. Ramparts
- II. Plan of S. W. Temple
- III. Plan of Palace
- IV. Plan of House of Large Atrium
- V. Plan of Houses E and F
- VI. Painted plaques from the House of the Large Atrium
- VII. Painted plaques and glass
- VIII. Voussoirs from Priests' House, Reliefs of Atargatis and Aphrodite
- IX. Statuettes of Heracles, Aphrodite and Youth carrying a lamb, Reliefs of Heracles and of a Woman
- X. Molds
- XI. Gold earrings, Silver handle of vase, Glass cameo of ring, Bronze bust of negro
- XII. Silver vase
- XIII, XIV. Inscription from Arch of Trajan, No. 167
- XV. Altar, Inscription No. 168. Fragments of Inscription No. 169
- XVI. Plan of House of Nebuchelus and Photograph of Cabinet
- XVII, XVIII. Sassanian Frescoes

- XIX. Graffiti of Hadad, Iarhibol, Goddess in Shrine, and nude Goddess
- XX. Graffiti of man, Parthian, mounted Parthian hunter, and group of animals
- XXI. Graffiti of Parthian eques sagittarius, and cataphractarius
- XXII. Terra cotta plaque, British Museum, and graffito of clibanarius
- XXIII. Graffiti of Ship and Caravan of camels
- XXIV. Pottery
- XXV. Silver necklace
- XXVI. Silver earrings, bracelet, and fibula

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.J.A.*: *American Journal of Archaeology*. The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America, 1885-.
- Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics*: Walter Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics from Ashur and Earlier Ancient Assyrian Wall-Paintings*, London, 1925.
- Arch. Anz.*: *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Berlin, 1886-.
- Arch. für Papyr.*: *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*. Ed. U. Wilcken, Leipzig, 1901-.
- B.G.U.*: *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen (Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*, Berlin, 1895-.
- B.M.C.*: *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*.
 Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia, by G. F. Hill, 1922.
 Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria, by W. W. Wroth, 1899.
 Palestine, by G. F. Hill, 1914.
 Parthia, by W. W. Wroth, 1903.
 Peloponnesus, by Percy Gardner, 1887.
 Phoenicia, by G. F. Hill, 1910.
 The Seleucid Kings of Syria, by Percy Gardner, 1878.
- Bab.*: *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Les Rois de Syrie, by Ernest Babelon, Paris, 1890.
- Babelon, *Les Perse Achéménides*: E. Babelon, *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Les Perses Achéménides*.
- Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes Antiques*: Babelon-Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895.
- Bachmann; *Felsreliefs*: W. Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien. Bawian, Maltai und Gundük*. 52. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1927.
- Blümner, *Maximaltarif*: Th. Mommsen, *Der Maximaltarif des Diokletian*, Berlin, 1893. Commentary by H. Blümner.
- Blümner, *Röm. Priv.*: H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer* (I. von Müller, W. Otto, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, IV, 2, 2, 1927).
- Bonner Jahrbücher*: *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, Bonn.
- Brünnnow-Domaszewski, *P.A.*: Brünnnow-Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strassburg, 1904.
- Bull. Corr. Hell.*: École Française d'Athènes. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Paris, 1877-.
- Butler, *Architecture of Syria*: H. C. Butler, *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909*. Division II, Section B, Northern Syria, Leyden, 1920.
- C.I.G.*: Berlin Academy, *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Ed. A. Boeckh, J. Franz, Berlin, 1828-77.

- C.I.L.*: Berlin Academy, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Ed. Th. Mommsen and others, Berlin, 1863-.
- Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*: E. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907-.
- Catalogus*: *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*. Ed. F. Cumont, F. J. Boll, W. Kroll, A. Olivieri, and others, Brussels, 1898-1912.
- Chapot: *La Frontière de l'Euphrate*, V. Chapot, Paris, 1907.
- Clédat, *Baouît*: Jean Clédat, *Le Monastère et la Nécropole de Baouît*. Mem. de l'Inst. français d'arch. orientale du Caire, XII, 1904.
- Cohen: Henry Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies frappées sous l'empire Romain communément appelées Médailles Impériales*. 2d edition, Paris, 1880-92.
- Comptes rendus*: *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, reference, unless otherwise stated, is to the article, "La 'Maison des Archives' à Doura-Europos," Vol. 1931, pp. 162-188.
- Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*: Stanley A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*. (The Schweich lectures of the British Academy, 1925) London, 1930.
- Corpus Pseudoepigraphorum Graecorum*. Ed. E. L. von Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, Göttingen, 1839-1851.
- Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash*: J. W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash*. A Preliminary Report of the joint Yale-British School Expedition to Jerash, 1928-30. British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, Supplementary Papers, 3, 1931.
- Cumont, *Fouilles*: F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (1922-23), Paris, 1926.
- Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*: O. M. Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus with other examples of early oriental metal-work*. 2d edition, London: British Museum, 1926.
- De la Berge: De la Berge, *Essai sur le regne de Trajan*, Paris, 1877.
- Dessau: H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, Berlin, 1892-1916.
- Edgar, *Greek Bronzes*: C. C. Edgar, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1904.
- F.H.G.*: *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Ed. C. and T. Müller, Paris, 1841-70.
- Festschrift für Amelung*: *Antike Plastik*. Walter Amelung zum sechzigsten Geburtstag; Berlin, Leipzig, 1928.
- Friedlaender-Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte*: L. Friedlaender-Wissowa, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von Augustus bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*. 10th edition, Leipzig, 1922.
- Furtwängler, *Gemmen*: A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen. Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1910.
- Garrucci, *Storia*: Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*.
- Germania*: *Germania, Korrespondenzblatt der römisch-germanischen Kommission*.
- Gsell, *Mon. Antiq. de l'Algérie*: S. Gsell, *Les Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901.
- Hatra II*: W. Andrae, *Hatra*, II Teil. Einzelbeschreibung der Ruinen, Leipzig, 1912, 21. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
- Helbig: W. Helbig, *Die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom*, Leipzig, 1891.
- Henderson: B. W. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, Cambridge, 1927.

- Henkel, *Fingerringe*: F. Henkel, *Die römischen Fingerringe der Rheinlande und der benachbarten Gebiete*, Berlin, 1913.
- Herzfeld, *Paikuli*: E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli, Monument and Inscription of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire*, Berlin, 1924.
- Hoard I; Hoard II: *Two Roman Hoards from Doura-Europos*, A. R. Bellinger, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1932.
- I.G.R.R.*: *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1901-21.
- Ingholt: H. Ingholt, *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur*, Copenhagen, 1928.
- J.R.S.*: *Journal of Roman Studies*, London, 1910-.
- Jacoby: F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin, 1923-.
- Jahrb.*: *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, Berlin, 1886-.
- Jahresh.*: *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien*, Vienna, 1898-.
- Jastrow, *Die Religion*: Morris Jastrow, Jr., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905.
- Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*: Julius Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*. 51. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1928.
- Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*: H. Kohl und C. Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*. 29. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1916.
- Koldewey, *Ischtar-Tor*: Robert Koldewey, *Das Ischtar-Tor in Babylon*. 32. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1918.
- Lidzbarski, *Eph.*: M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 1900-1907.
- Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*: William Kennett Loftus, *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana*, London, 1857.
- Longden: *Notes on the Parthian Campaigns of Trajan*, *J.R.S.* XXI, Part 1, 1931.
- M.N.D.P.V.*: *Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.
- Marshall, *Finger Rings*: F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum*, London, 1907.
- Marshall, *Jewellery*: F. H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Department of Antiquities, British Museum*, London, 1911.
- de Morgan, *Manuel*: J. de Morgan, *Manuel de numismatique orientale de l'antiquité et du moyen-âge*, Fascicule I, Paris, 1923.
- O.G.I.S.*: W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, Leipzig, 1903-05.
- Otchet*: *Otchet [Compte-rendu] of the Archaeological Commission*, St. Petersburg.
- P. Amherst*: B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri*, Part II, London, 1901.
- P. Enteux.*: *Publications de la Société Royale Égyptienne de papyrologie. Textes et documents (Enteuxis)*, Cairo, 1931.
- P. Florence*: D. Comparetti, G. Vitelli, *Papyri Fiorentini*, Florence, 1906-15.
- P. Giessen*: E. Kornemann and others, *Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen*, Vol. I, Leipzig, Berlin, 1910-12.
- P. Hamburg*: P. M. Meyer, *Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staatsbibliothek*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1912-14.
- P. Jandanae*: *Papyri Jandanae, cum Discipulis edidit Carolus Kalbfleisch*, Leipzig, Berlin, 1912-.

- P. Leipzig*: L. Mitteis, *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*, Leipzig, 1906.
- P. London*: F. G. Kenyon, H. I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1893-1917.
- P. Osloenses*: S. Eitrem, L. Amundsen, *Papyri Osloenses*, Oslo, 1931.
- P. Oxyrh.*: B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London, 1898-.
- P.S.I.*: *Papiri Greci e Latini*, Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto, Florence, 1912-.
- P. Tebtunis*: W. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, J. G. Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, London, 1902-.
- Pape, *Eigennamen*: Wilhelm Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*. 3. Auflage, Braunschweig, 1875.
- Paribeni: R. Paribeni, *Optimus Princeps*, Messina, 1926.
- Paruck: F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, Bombay, 1924.
- Perrot-Chipiez, *Chaldaeae and Assyria*: Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldaeae and Assyria*, in two volumes. Translated and edited by Walter Armstrong, London, New York, 1884.
- Perrot-Chipiez, *Persia*: Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *History of Art in Persia*, London, New York, 1892.
- Perrot-Chipiez, *Phoenicia*: Georges Perrot and Charles Chipiez, *History of Art in Phoenicia and Its Dependencies*, in two volumes. Translated and edited by Walter Armstrong, London, 1885.
- Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*: Victor Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*. Vol. I, Paris, 1867; Vol. II, 1870; Vol. III, Plates, 1876.
- Preisigke-Bilabel: F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*, continued by F. Bilabel, Strassburg, 1915-.
- Preisigke, *Namenbuch*: F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch enthaltend alle griechischen, lateinischen, ägyptischen, hebräischen, arabischen und sonstigen semitischen und nicht-semitischen Menschennamen, soweit sie in griechischen Urkunden Ägyptens sich vorfinden*, Heidelberg, 1922.
- Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*: F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der griechischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienbilder, usw., aus Aegypten*, completed by E. Kiessling, Berlin, 1925-1927.
- R.I.C.*: *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, by Harold Mattingly and Edward A. Sydenham, London: Spink and Son, 1923-.
- Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*: Salomon Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (1854). Rééditées avec un commentaire nouveau et un index général des Comptes Rendus, Paris, 1892.
- Reinach, *Rép. Peintures*: Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1922.
- Reinach, *Rép. Rel.*: Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, Paris, 1909-.
- Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*: Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, Paris, 1897-.
- Rep. I*: *The Excavations at Dura-Europos*, conducted by Yale University and the

- French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, *Preliminary Report of First Season of Work, Spring, 1928*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929.
- Rep. II: Preliminary Report of Second Season of Work, October, 1928–April, 1929*, New Haven, 1931.
- Rep. III: Preliminary Report of Third Season of Work, November, 1929–March, 1930*. New Haven, 1932.
- Reuther, *Innenstadt von Babylon*: Oscar Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon (Merkes)*. 47. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1926. Vol. of text, and vol. of plates.
- de Ridder, *Cat. des Bijoux*: André de Ridder, *Catalogue Sommaire des Bijoux antiques*, Musée Nationale du Louvre, Paris, 1894.
- Rosenberg, *Niello*: M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage. Niello bis zum Jahre 1000 nach Chr.*, Frankfurt, 1924.
- Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*: W. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*. First Series. New York: The Fundamental Institutions, 1899.
- Stauffenberg: Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas*, Stuttgart, 1931.
- Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran*: Josef Strzygowski, *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*. Ziergeschichtliche Untersuchungen über den Eintritt der Wander- und Nordvölker in die Treibhäuser geistigen Lebens, Leipzig, 1917.
- Strzygowski, *Armenia*: Josef Strzygowski, *Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa*, Vienna, 1918.
- Strzygowski, *Asien*: Josef Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst in Stichproben, ihr Wesen und ihre Entwicklung*, Augsburg, 1930.
- Swindler, *Ancient Painting*: H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting from the Earliest Times to the Period of Christian Art*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929.
- Syria*: *Syria*, Revue d'Art Oriental et d'Archéologie publiée sous le patronage du Haut-Commissaire de la République française en Syrie, Paris, 1920–.
- U.P.Z.*: U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, Aeltere Funde, Vol. I, Berlin, Leipzig, 1927.
- Vogüé: Ch. Jean Melchior Marquis de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale, Inscriptions sémitiques publiées avec traduction et commentaire*, Paris, 1868.
- Wad., *M.G.*: *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I, 1, Pont et Paphlagonie, W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon and Th. Reinach, Paris, 1925.
- Wessely: *Studien zur Paläographie und Papyrusurkunde*, Vol. XX, 1921.
- Wetzel, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*: Friedrich Wetzel, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, Erster Teil, Die Südburg von Robert Koldewey. 54. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1931.
- Wiegand, *Wiss. Ver. D. T. Denk.*: *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des deutsch-türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos*.
- Wilpert, *Gewandung*: J. Wilpert, *Die Gewandung der Christen in den ersten Jahrhunderten*, Cologne, 1898.
- Wuthnow, *Semitischen Menschennamen*: Heinz Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig, 1930.
- Zeit. d. Deutsch. Pal. Ver.*: *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

PREFACE

YALE UNIVERSITY, in coöperation with the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, has continued the exploration of the ruins of Dura-Europos under the directorship of M. Maurice Pillet. The Syrian Government has again kindly given its friendly support, and has arranged in a very generous manner for the distribution of the finds. The French Government, in its exercise of the Syrian Mandate, has continued to offer invaluable assistance.

We are again, as on former occasions, under great obligation to the Haut Commissaire de la Syrie et du Liban, to the General Commandant Supérieur des Troupes du Levant, to the General Commandant des Régions Nord de la Syrie, and to the Directeur du Service des Antiquités de la Syrie et du Liban, M. H. Seyrig. The great scholarship of M. R. Dussaud and of M. F. Cumont has been a constant help to our staff. To both of them we extend our warmest thanks.

Furthermore, it is a pleasant duty to acknowledge our indebtedness to the French authorities and to the Government of Syria in Damascus for their unfailing interest in our excavations. Also to the American University at Beirut we wish to extend our thanks for its hospitality.

To Dean Meeks and to Professor Sizer as well as to their assistants in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts our most sincere thanks are due for their constant interest and sympathy. Without their help we should have neither place to study the material nor opportunity to exhibit it. Professor R. G. Eberhard has given us much of his valuable time in making casts from the steatite molds and in fixing the colors of the terra cotta plaques as well as in repairing them. He also kindly repaired and cleaned some of the reliefs. To Professor Ralph van Name we are indebted for valuable advice in the proper method of treating the silver vase, and to Miss Mary Nettleton for her untiring assistance in cleaning the silver and bronze finds. Professor C. C. Torrey has been of the greatest help in reading the Aramaic inscription on the bottom of our silver vase and has again come to our rescue in publishing the Semitic inscriptions. Professor C. H. Kraeling also was of special assistance in the reading of Semitic names. Our thanks are also due to Dr. Dirk Brouwer of the Department of Astronomy for dating the horoscopes. We are fortunate in procuring the assistance of M. H. Seyrig in the publication of the altar dedication to Zeus Betylos.

Among the papers in the present volume the general report by M. Pillet was written in French and translated in full into English.

P. V. C. B.

M. I. R.

A. R. B.

New Haven, Connecticut,

October 18, 1932.

I

GENERAL REPORT ON THE CAMPAIGN OF 1930-31

BY M. PILLET, FIELD DIRECTOR

[*Plates I-V*]

I. ORGANIZATION

DURING this fourth season of excavating, the general organization of the expedition was subject to no material changes inasmuch as the necessary equipment had already been assembled at Salihyeh, and the overseers, workmen, and household servants were already well acquainted with their respective duties.

My staff consisted of Messrs. Henry T. Rowell, who left Dura on January 27, 1931, and Alan McN. G. Little, scientific assistants, and MM. André Naudy and Antoine Walter, who retained their positions of the preceding year.

Excavating began October 31, 1930, and terminated March 31, 1931. MM. Naudy, E. Bacquet, and A. Little remained at the site until April 29 in order to finish removing the frescoes from the temple of the Palmyrene gods.

M. H. Ponsot, Haut Commissaire de France, and MM. les generaux Bigault de Granrut, Commandant Superieur, Pichot Duclos, Commandant des Régions Nord, and Callais, Commandant les Confins de l'Euphrate, continued, as in previous years, to protect the safety of the expedition carefully and to provide it with every facility at their disposal for carrying on the daily work and procuring supplies. Their representative, M. le Capitaine Arnaud, Chef du Service des Renseignements du Caza, lent us the same cordial support in all matters as his predecessors. To them I have the pleasure of expressing my warmest thanks.

After the experience of three campaigns, no difficulty was found in obtaining the labor necessary for the excavations. For December, 1930, and January, the average number of workmen was 300, with a maximum of 320, not including the five principal overseers.

A scale of wages was maintained of three-fourths of a midjideh (5 fr. 25) a day per man, and eight piasters (2 fr. 80) per boy.

Temperature. The winter was fine and dry without numerous and

annoying sandstorms. Although ten days of February were rather wet, work was not discontinued. The greatest cold, C. 3° (F. 26.5) occurred in January, and the temperature only rose to C. 31.5° (F. 88) in March, 1931.

II. RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATIONS

1. *General Aspect.*

Excavations were carried out this season at the following principal points: the outer triumphal arch, the ramparts facing the desert and those to the south, the Palace or inner Redoubt, the southwest temples, those of Tower 17 and the Palmyrene Gate, as well as the temple of the Palmyrene gods. In addition to these, we cleared the House of the Large Atrium, the House of the Priests, the entire group situated at the east end of the Palmyra road including its monumental gate, the house of Nebuchelus, the house containing frescoes, and those at the edge and on the slope of the inner ravine with the adjacent streets.

All these buildings were carefully excavated without leaving a single pile of dirt on the spot. Earth and *débris* alike were dumped outside of the city or into the inner ravine, where they will not obstruct future excavations, as so often is the case.

These excavations have brought to light the military organization behind the defense of this stronghold of the Syrian desert; they have revealed new temples and the Governor's Palace, which now appears as the finest building in Dura to come down to our day. Finally, they have cleared several blocks of houses which allow us to define clearly their character in this city.

The season's finds fortunately supplement those of the past three campaigns, and, although the field of sculpture is represented by but a few examples, the gold and silver jewelry which has come to light is a valuable testimony to ancient luxury.

Inscriptions were not found in as great abundance as during the previous season, yet the altar from the temple of the Palmyrene gods dedicated to a god Betylos of the Orontes, as yet unknown, is an object of capital importance for the history of religion. Furthermore, the numerous graffiti from the house of Nebuchelus supply a mass of information concerning the history, commerce, and agriculture of Dura during the third century A.D. that is equivalent to a number of precious papyri.

Coins were discovered in abundance, including three small silver

hoards, whose sum total of about four hundred reaches from the end of the second into the third century A.D. This number is doubled by chance coins found scattered here and there on the floors of the houses.

The results of each season have been different, but taken as a whole, after eighteen months of active excavating, they reveal to the eye of the archaeologist the ruins and history of that great city whose resurrection is linked with the name of M. Franz Cumont.

2. *The Triumphal Arch.*

This structure whose interest I had already pointed out during the first season of excavations,¹ was entirely cleared in February, 1931, of the piles of stones which had resulted from its destruction and had been rendered even more confused by previous excavations whose object had been to find the entrance of a sepulchral tower. By clearing it, the conjecture I had made was fully confirmed, and we found ourselves in the presence of the remains of an edifice similar to those called "Arches of Triumph" whose construction was frequent under the Roman Empire of the second and third centuries A.D. They consisted of a rectangular mass of masonry containing a large central passageway which was often flanked, as at Dura, by two smaller gates with barrel vaulting, the whole of which was crowned with an attic bearing a dedicatory inscription. "They were originally honorary monuments destined to commemorate a notable event,"² the memory of a triumph, military successes, or great accomplishments; nevertheless, the significance of many of them escape us.

The structure taken as a whole is 13.39 m. long by 3.86 m. wide, and the axis of its length runs at an angle of 30° to the east of the line of the magnetic north. Its central passageway orientated to the Palmyrene Gate, measures 4.19 m. in width, and its vault commences 6.30 m. above ground level. Of the little passageways, the one to the southwest is 1.65 m. wide, the one to the northeast only 1.48 m. After verification, this small difference of 0.17 m. seems actually to have existed, though it is possible that it was caused by an earthquake. Similar differences are found between the piers of the arches, inasmuch as the two outer ones measure 1.42 m. in width, the inner ones 1.55 m. and 1.69 m. (to the southwest), respectively. The height of the side passageways can be estimated with greater exactitude than that of the main opening due to

¹ *Rep. I*, pp. 6-7, and *Rep. III*, p. 17.

² R. Cagnat, *Manuel d'archéologie romaine*, I, 74-84.

the two imposts of the northeast arch which are still *in situ* with the adjoining molding. Including this frieze (height 0.152 m.), the height is 3.20 m. which gives us a height of just about 4 m. under the keystone, an approximation due to our ignorance of the exact, ancient floor level and the height of the center of the arch proper above its beginnings. As for the central passageway, since its arch begins 6.30 m. above ground level, it measured about 8.40 m. under the keystone. Given these measurements and existing triumphal arches for comparison, we shall be able to estimate exactly enough the original height of this monument, the ruins of whose northeast, central pier still rise to the height of about 12 m. We can now estimate this height as about 14 m. (8.40 m. plus 5.60 m. for the attic), taking as example the arch of Septimius Severus at Rome which also has three openings. Yet, since the proportions of all the buildings in this city are very elevated, it is possible that our arch reached a height of from 15 m. to 16 m. At any rate, it did not contain any cross passageways connecting the different openings, as is the case in the arch of Severus mentioned above.

As for its ornamentation, nothing has remained but the molding of the arches, a piece of a stone column without cannelations (diameter 0.78 m.) and some *débris* from the imperial dedication, or rather dedications, which adorned two sides of the attic.

Two stone blocks show us that these dedications contained at least three lines of inscription with letters 0.24 m. high. The fragments of the inscription restored by Mr. Gould and his associates³ teach us that we are dealing here with a monument erected by Trajan when returning from his victorious campaign in 117 A.D. The Romans had, therefore, already occupied Dura-Europos at this period and were proclaiming their power by building a noble edifice on the highroad leading to the city on the Euphrates. Consequently, this triumphal arch is the oldest datable piece of Roman construction at Dura as well as the oldest example of this kind of edifice in Syria.

3. *The Ramparts.*

The Ramparts Facing Southeast.

This line of fortifications follows a deep wadi which winter rains sometimes fill with a small torrent that disappears in the alluvial plain along the Euphrates. Even in summer, however, a thin stream of brack-

³ See below, p. 56.

ish water can be seen near the mouth of the wadi when the preceding winter has been rainy.

The ramparts on this side were cleared from Tower 12 to the southwest bastion (Tower 14) two-thirds of their entire length,⁴ or about 550 m. This space contains seven towers including the one which reinforces and protects the southwest bastion on the side of the ravine. To this we must add about 20 m. of the outer wall situated between the Abu Kemal road and the edge of the cliff where the dislocated foundations of a tower that has since disappeared are barely visible. Still to be cleared, are about 280 m. of ramparts to the east, including two towers, that is, from Tower 12 to the road, in order to lay bare this entire line of defense.

The whole, in its present stage of excavation, enables us to study it without risk of incurring any serious error. Its "saw-toothed" outline follows, with slight modifications, the edge of the rocky plateau on which the city is built and its total length of about 825 m. must have continued farther to the northeast before the cliffs bordering on the Euphrates fell away. Eight rectangular towers, 9 m. by 14 m. each, and a pentagonal bastion protected the salients of this line of fortifications.

The rocky side of the plateau was first smoothed off and made difficult to scale by a heavy supporting wall sloping in at a decided angle. Its height varies with the angle of the rocky slope, being from 2 m. to 5 m. below the level of the city streets. It is built of rather crude masonry composed of those hard, round stones of a reddish color which form the surface of the desert around Dura. This wall, completely imbedded in mortar, serves as a counterscarp to the covered way in front of it.

Farther out, a strong wall of hewn stones, carefully dressed and joined with mortar, rises. Its width is 1.80 m. and its height, from 6 m. to 7 m. in some of its existing parts, must once have been from 12 m. to 15 m. It is this outer wall which presents an almost regular outline of salients and bays which do not run parallel to the inner wall (*contrescarpe*), thus varying the width between the two walls and leaving places for military stations here and there.

⁴ I have kept the numbers used by M. F. Cumont, *Fouilles*, in Pl. II and Fig. 1, p. 5, while giving numbers *bis*, *ter*, and *quater* to towers as yet unnumbered. Thus, the three towers between those marked 12 and 13, are designated as 12 *bis*, 12 *ter*, and 12 *quater*.—Editorial Note. The plans of the southern ramparts, of the house near Tower 17, and of the temple of the Palmyrene gods are not at hand. They will be published in the next report. The plans of Pls. I–IV are by M. Pillet.

The towers are joined to this outer system and they communicate with the curtains by means of a single door surmounted by a triangular vault raised in successive corbels as is the case in all other military edifices at Dura. Both curtains and towers might be cut off from the city with which they communicate by means of rare and difficult passageways through the counterscarp formed of crude masses of masonry located at the ends of the streets. In times of peace, the garrison could only reach the city by ladders placed at these points; in case of sedition, it was easy to remove them, thus isolating the fortifications.

The towers seem to have had only one story surmounted by a crenelated platform, access to which was afforded (at least in the town's final period) by a masonry staircase rising along the southwest, inner wall.

A crude brick wall, at right angles to the general line of the ravine, divides the lower story in two. Together with the staircases, it seems to date from the Roman period (end of the second century A.D.). On the inner walls of the towers, not a single graffito or inscription can be seen, except in Tower 12 *ter* where the name of Artemidoros Mikkalos can be read (No. 172), and 12 *quater* which contains the names Zabادات and Beraios (Nos. 177, 174, below). This absence of graffiti and remains of arms proves that this line of fortifications, already well protected by the natural formation of the land, was lightly garrisoned.

The pentagonal bastion or Tower 13⁵ owes its name solely to its exterior aspect since it is in reality neither a bastion nor a tower. It is simply a "spur" or sort of barbican, built in front of an angle of the curtains and destined to reinforce the salient angle of masonry. On the city side it does not constitute a tower, and its form as well as its position on a rocky spur rendered it strong enough *per se* to remain merely a part of the curtains whose appearance from without might delude the enemy. Moreover, its outer wall of well-hewn stones simply masks the living rock which was reached at a depth of 0.80 m. below the actual plateau level of the city and the top of the razed walls of the bastion. This barbican communicates with the curtain by means of a door situated in the middle of the side toward the city. In the northwest corner of its interior, a tomb had been hewn out of the living rock, then covered with a large, oval basin of yellowish stone 0.53 m. in height, 1.04 m. by 0.50 m. in diameter, but only 0.55 m. by 0.35 m. at the bottom. It has four small handles, and we seem here to be in the presence of a Parthian tomb.

⁵ Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 8 and 24, Fig. 1; Pl. V.

The east postern, situated in the bay of the curtains between Towers 12 *ter* and 12 *quater* is the most interesting discovery made during this methodical clearing of the ramparts. On the side facing the ravine, it is protected by a crude brick wall, 1.10 m. thick, with a door 1.35 m. wide, and on the city side by irregularly placed, crude brick obstructions (*chicanes*) which defend as well the entrance to the inner curtain. The postern has a barrel vault made of rubble which hides the rectangular base where the door was situated, whose lintel consisted of wooden beams. The width of the passageway is 1.25 m., the height 2.35 m. under the keystone, while the inner bay measures 3.25 m. in height by 3.10 m. A steep glacis constitutes its floor and lies between the inner and outer stairs. It belongs certainly to the end of the second century as is proved by its own construction and that of its accessory defenses. It is similar to the one discovered in the course of the second campaign to the north-east of the Tower of the Archers. Both of these allowed the garrison to communicate with the outside world, either for purposes of revictualing or to receive or send messages, at points well concealed and difficult of access. They were veritable emergency posterns which the townspeople were forbidden to use.

From spur 13 to Tower 13 *bis*, the curtain measures about 140 m. and is without accessory defenses, but the vertical slope of natural rock, which was doubtless partially hewn away, dominates the bottom of the ravine from a height of 30 m. Accordingly, there was no fear of the wall being scaled on this side. Nevertheless in the bay, located about halfway between the two towers, a badly ruined, rectangular structure was brought to light which was the remains of a tower contiguous to the counterscarp or postern which opened on the abrupt slope of the ravine at the end of one of the city streets.

As for the last tower to the south, it is merely a counterpart of the corner bastion, which it protects by a wall about 12 m. high at least. It contained two or three stories where the garrison could mass reserves necessary for the defense.⁶

Although the excavation of this part of the ramparts is important for our knowledge of the military organization of Dura, it furnished us with no valuable document. Aside from the tomb in the pentagonal spur mentioned above, a skeleton with several tatters of cloth was found in Tower 12 *quater*, proving that in the last period of the town's history, these ramparts were abandoned and filled up with earth or crude bricks.

⁶ Editorial Note. Plans of the east postern and the towers referred to not at hand.

Pieces of broken pottery and small, terra cotta lamps would be the only objects we would have to mention, if a heap of ashes, accumulated in the curtain between Tower 13 *bis* and the southwest bastion, had not produced two beautiful pieces of silver jewelry. Held together by oxidation, they are a twisted silver bracelet (0.075 m.) and a necklace with pendant attached formed of heavy silver beads strung on twisted metal strands. One of these strands had been used to bind up the necklace within itself. After being cleaned, it will be one of the most valuable specimens of the jewelry of Dura-Europos.⁷

The Desert Line.

The fortifications facing the desert extend about 830 m. in a straight line which is broken at the northwest end where it follows the initial curve of the ravine which bounds the city on this side.

Two powerful bastions reinforce the extremities of this line and the Monumental or Palmyrene Gate, the city's sole means of communication with the outer world, is situated here. It is located at a point two-thirds of the length of the entire line to the southwest, since the distance to the interior of the southwest bastion is 395 m., and that to the temple of the Palmyrene gods 513 m.

During this season, the three towers to the south were entirely cleared, and work on the southwest bastion was resumed, but dropped shortly after, which was also the case in regard to the north Tower 2 situated near the Deir-ez-Zor road. All of them had been badly shaken by earthquakes and one in particular, 19, to the north, had completely collapsed upon itself due to the seismic trembling which it irrefutably attests.

All these towers are alike: rectangular, almost square, and varying but little in dimensions. Tower 17, for example, measures 10.50 m. by 8.70 m.; its walls are 2.66 m. thick at the base and 2.18 m. at the upper story. They are constructed of fine masonry consisting of well-hewn stones carefully dressed on the outside but indifferently treated within. Their single entrance facing the tower is low, having a height of 2.14 m. under the apex of the triangular passageway which ends 1.07 m. above ground level; the width is 1.57 m. The base of the structure is reinforced by a greater thickness of masonry (0.48 m. to 0.54 m.). The lower story was dark, since it contained no opening or loophole either toward the desert or the town. The ceiling was built 7 m. above the

⁷ See below, p. 255.

ground, making a very lofty room which seems to have communicated with the upper story only by means of a rope ladder or plain rope used to hoist provisions, arms, or the reinforcements necessary for the defense. No traces of a staircase are apparent. At a later date, doubtless after the earthquake of the year 161, a partition wall was built of coarse masonry, rubble imbedded in mortar, running parallel to the desert side. It underlay a crude brick wall, destined to support a new ceiling composed of shorter and weaker beams. A door in this wall, situated obliquely to the right or left of the main entrance, affords communication between the two parts of the tower. The towers project farther on the desert side than on the town (3.15 m. as against 2.18 m.). They are razed to the level of the upper story, with slight variations. At this height, two doors are located face to face, corresponding to the covered way (*chemin de ronde*) of the curtains, which allowed the entire line of defense to the right and left of the city's main gate to be observed. In this part of the fortifications where the ground is level, the length of the curtains between the towers is almost everywhere the same (58 m. on an average) but it is increased on each side of the Palmyrene Gate to 74 m. This last unit of defense must have contained engines whose range was greater than those of the usual towers, or which carried farther due to their greater elevation. The actual summit of the ramparts just about corresponds to the covered way of the curtains. The fortifications have no ditch and rest directly on the rocky surface of the desert.

After 161 A.D., the base of the walls on the outside was reinforced by masses of masonry composed of rubble and covered with mortar which formed a buttress 0.69 m. thick at the base and 1.95 m. high. It rises in two sections, the first of which, almost vertical, forms an angle of 81° with the ground and extends 1.13 m.; the second, in the form of a glacis ending at the wall, measures 1.02 m. and forms an angle of 57° . They were then covered with a bed of ashes kept in place by cross walls of crude brick. The same was done on the city side.

This year, we discovered the crude brick staircases which give access to the upper line of defense by passing over these declivities on the city side. At this period, the lower stories of the towers seem to have been walled up and left unoccupied, which explains the paucity of objects found while clearing them.

Let us now examine the excavations carried out during this last season in these fortifications (Pl. I). Work on the southwest bastion or Tower 14 was resumed in December, and a breach was made in the side

facing the desert in order to attempt to clear it with less danger. The exterior works situated near Tower 15 confirm the conjecture made last year and must be identified as remains of an assault. In fact, the curtain was found to be very much damaged on the outside and to have been hastily repaired in various ways. It is obstructed by straw and wood, in a more or less charred condition, and by the remains of arms and stone balls. The long outer mound accordingly represents a runway up which the protected rams were hauled which served to batter the walls and overturn them. These engines, frequently employed by the Romans, had long been in use and a bas-relief from the palace of Tiglathpileser III at Nimrūd, now in the British Museum, furnishes us with a curious example of this.⁸

Tower 15 proper furnished us from its exterior with several vases, plain and enameled (green), some mills of black basalt, two large alabaster disks, and the remains of a statuette portraying a shepherd carrying a lamb in his arms. The interior, obstructed by half-charred beams and mats woven of reeds which formed the ceiling of the lower story, produced eighteen wooden javelins similar to those found in the Palmyrene Gate during the season 1928-29,⁹ and the remains of a wooden shield covered with painted parchment which must be cleaned before we know whether it contains some interesting scene or inscription. Finally, we have a board or wooden tablet of the same kind as that found in 1929 in the north tower of the Palmyrene Gate.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the inscription has disappeared except for traces of a few letters. In the same place, bronze rings and coins as well as the remains of the entrance door were found.

The most curious object discovered is a brick, 0.385 m. square and 0.05 m. thick, which must be related to the Greek type called *pentadoron* (five handbreadths) mentioned by Vitruvius and Pliny,¹¹ for the dimensions which we give here are the maximum size of this irregularly fashioned brick. It is rather crudely painted on one side with the figure of a man wearing a short beard and a mustache. In his left hand he holds a round goblet and in his right, a crater. A few reeds are outlined against the white background of the brick and the person's name appears in the right-hand corner: Babathoumenes. We shall find the same kind of bricks in the House of the Large Atrium.¹²

⁸ G. Contenau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, III, Fig. 789, and *l'Art de l'Asie orientale ancienne*, Pl. XXXV.

⁹ *Rep. II*, Pl. IX.

¹¹ Vitruvius, II, 3; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXXV, 170.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 149, Fig. 23.

¹² See below, pp. 42 ff.

Tower 16, razed lower than the preceding one, was attacked from without and within on November 29, and by December 18 it was completely emptied. It is divided into two long rooms by a wall of masonry without piers unlike the preceding tower which has them, and its inner door is situated on the north side, while that of Tower 15 occupies the south. Its main entrance faces the tower in the middle of that side. It produced a number of stone balls of two different sizes used by the slingers, and a *lorica squamata* from the northwest corner, which, doubtless complete, lay crushed under a large stone block fallen from the wall. This armor must have been hanging up in the tower at the time of the accident since no trace of bones was found at hand or in the vicinity. The hundreds of bronze scales of which it was composed were carefully gathered and should permit restoration (*Rep. III*, pp. 78 f.). The inner walls of the tower show no inscription but only a few graffiti, rudely scratched in the stone and depicting horsemen and camel riders.

Tower 17 was cleared at the same time as the preceding tower and presents a similar plan. The lower room measures 5.80 m. by 5.34 m. at the bottom and 6.34 m. by 5.82 m. above its reinforced foundations. The partition-wall is 1.04 m. thick and its door 0.82 m. wide, while that of the main entrance measures 1.57 m. On the outside, the tower is 10.50 m. and its walls are 2.18 m. thick. The presence of a mud brick wall more than 5 m. high, running parallel to the tower at a distance of 2.10 m., made clearing difficult. We were forced to follow it, digging down to the level of the tower, to clear the entrance. This wall was nothing more or less than part of an edifice which we shall call the Edifice of Tower 17. This edifice is a public building without doubt. Its proportions greatly surpass those of private houses and its large doors, 1.50 m., 2.26 m., and 2.35 m. wide are high in proportion. Not a trace has been left, however, of its original purpose. Whether a temple or a military edifice, the graffiti found on its walls, which we shall describe below, are such as are found almost everywhere in the houses and edifices of Dura.

It is built of crude bricks and contains a large court measuring 8.26 m. by 7.82 m. In its west wall near the tower a large central door is situated with a stone lintel, 1.53 m. wide, which opens on a narrow recess, hardly 0.40 m. wide at the bottom. The back wall is that one already described which inclines toward the tower. It seems to date from the end of the second century, or rather from the third century A.D., and we appear to be here in the presence of a renovation which cut an older edifice in two that once leaned against the tower. Large stone

column drums had been used, as it appears, to wall up this door during the last period—possibly in order to support the broken lintel, unless they are remains of a dedicatory column similar to the one set up by Gemellos in the temple of Artemis or that other one situated to the north of the façade of the temple of Atargatis. At any rate, this large opening, preceded by a stone step and opening on a modest recess, seems to indicate a sanctuary containing a painted stele at the back with an altar for offerings before it. On the south side of the court, another large door reached by two steps, 2.35 m. wide, gives access to a room (C), 9.60 m. by 5.15 m., which could be the principal sanctuary if we are actually in a temple. A fragment of decorated plaster cornice still clings to the wall of this room near the door.

To the east, two rooms (E and D) correspond to rooms A and C, but are only 2.61 m. wide. The last room (D) has no egress and consequently must have been a cellar reached from an upper story. E, on the contrary, communicates with the court through another room (F) 3.79 m. long and 2.54 m. wide. In fact, the north side of the court (A) contains three doors: the one to the west, 0.93 m. wide, is the main entrance of the edifice; nearer the center, another, 0.98 m. wide, with a barrel vault, gives access to a rectangular staircase (3.01 m. by 2.54 m.) whose flights are 1.18 m. to 1.20 m. wide; the last door to the east belongs to room F, and is 2.26 m. wide.

In room C, on the south wall, a final coat of plaster in peeling off brought to light two graffiti depicting horsemen. One of them (Pl. XXI, 3) is similar to many already found at Dura. An archer is represented clothed in a jerkin covered with crosshatching indicating material quilted or protected by small metal plates or scales. It seems to be composed of three pieces: a mantlet covering the top of the chest and both arms as far as the hands; a fitted tunic, buttoned in front, cinched in at the waist by a belt, and falling down to the knees which it protects. Both these garments were put on over the head. The legs are tightly enveloped in a sort of tights made of the same quilted or armored material. The right hand which holds the bowstring and the end of the arrow, is covered with a gauntlet, and we must suppose the same for the left hand, although the drawing does not show it, since the bowstring strikes it cruelly at the moment of shooting. The head of the horseman seems to be protected by a mask unless we attribute this to the clumsiness of the artist. His hair, in two large braids, hangs down on each side of his face. The top of his head is round, lacking tuft of hair

or ornament. The bow has three bends, the arrow is long with a triangular tip. The capacious quiver hangs down from the saddlebow. The horse is uncovered and is guided by a single rein, in addition to which we may have another held in the teeth of the horseman. A breast strap adorned with a large disk at the shoulder, containing crossed lines and four little knobs, holds the saddle in place from the front, while a crupper of the same kind does so from the rear. An inscription is scratched on the animal's flank.

The second graffito (Pl. XXII, 2), depicting a cataphract, is unique until now. He is armed with a lance having streamers(?) at its point and is protected by a complete coat of mail. He carries a conical helmet ending in a point from which hangs a piece of mesh protecting his face. The casque itself must be made of metal. The armor is complicated and composed of various pieces. The entire body from shoulder to knee is shielded by a *lorica squamata* similar to the hauberk, or rather the broigne of the Middle Ages. Over this, around the middle of the chest, runs a belt probably made of leather studded with long metal plates adorned with knobs and forming two horizontal rows. The arms and legs are also protected by armor made of a series of metal rings which becomes mail at the elbow, thus allowing the hands to move freely in their gauntlets. The feet, however, are encased in armor. The horseman lacks stirrups, as is the case throughout antiquity. Besides the lance, he carries a dagger at his belt whose wide base and handle identify it with those worn by the persons in the Conon fresco from the temple of the Palmyrene gods. The horse is enveloped in a covering adorned with metal scales or rings. His hoofs, tail, eyes, and ears are alone visible. Due to false lines which were redrawn, the artist has given the horse six legs. On this covering we can still perceive disks containing crossed lines, one on the shoulder and one on the thigh of the horse. They relate this horseman with the preceding one (see below, pp. 216 ff.).

A small number of objects was found in this edifice of which we need only mention a large crater and several ordinary earthenware vases. Finally, a small terra cotta plaque of curious workmanship, depicting a goddess giving her blessing, was also discovered here (see below, p. 242).

Tower 2, situated at the north end of the desert line near the Deir-ez-Zor road before the tower of the Palmyrene gods is reached, was only partially cleared within and without. It produced not a single ancient object.

4. *The Temples.*

Sacred edifices and religious objects are becoming more and more evident at Dura. Thus the interior of the desert ramparts sheltered at least three temples or places of worship. In the center, the Palmyrene Gate with its numerous altars and its remains of a painted naos; at the north end, the temple of the Palmyrene gods, and balancing it to the south, a temple so wretchedly preserved that we have not been able to discover its name. To these we may possibly have to add the edifice situated behind Tower 17 and the unidentified building located opposite the Baths a little to the north of the Palmyrene Gate. We have thus a total of five places of worship along this line of ramparts 830 m. long and we must keep in mind that the bases of these fortifications have only been investigated at scattered points.

The Southwest Temple.

This sacred edifice is situated within the city near the bastion which protects the angle formed by the fortifications facing the desert and those following the east ravine (Pl. II). Like the temple of the Palmyrene gods to which it is similar in structure, it once seems to have had a colonnade on its east side, standing against the ramparts which overlook the ravine. A column (K) was found at this point bearing a Safaitic inscription,¹³ and a door preceded by three steps was situated next to it at the time when the colonnade, which had probably fallen in ruins, was supplanted by a crude brick wall.

Nothing remains of this sacred edifice but a little room (L) located to the north, which is our sole example of the rooms which must have surrounded the sanctuary. Everywhere else, our excavations brought bedrock to light without traces of foundations. Moreover, the earth removed from this spot only measured from 0.40 m. to 0.70 m. in depth. On the other hand, three altars (A, B, and C) and three bases (D, E, and F) were cleared which were located near the walls and left no doubt as to the sacred character of the spot. The one in the best state of preservation (A) is situated on the east side (Pl. II). Its base measures 1.60 m., its height 1.81 m., and four small steps are built up against its north side. Its type is Babylonian like those in the temples of Artemis, Atargatis, and the Palmyrene gods. Of the two others (B and C) nothing remains but the bases, where, however, the beginnings of stairways are

¹³ *Rep. III*, p. 66.

still outlined. Their dimensions are similar to those of the first altar, and the distance between them is about 3.25 m. They form an irregular line: B, in the middle, being in front of the other two; C, the last to the north, behind them.

Between these altars and the ramparts, only 4 m. behind the former, three rectangular bases were brought to light (D, E, and F) which, also forming a triangle, have sides measuring 0.80 m., 0.98 m., and 1.07 m. The faces of the first two are orientated at an angle of 45° to the faces of the altars; the last one (F), however, is parallel to them. It also is rectangular in form and has the same dimensions as the three altars. Accordingly, it is possible that it too was an altar. This curious grouping leads us to believe that we are dealing here with a sanctuary consecrated to the Divine Fire of the same kind as the one at Naksch-i-Rustem, but, due to lack of ancient evidence, this cannot be affirmed. The position of the stairways giving access to the altars indicates that the actual sanctuary lay to the west near the ramparts and that the person performing the sacrifice faced the setting sun. This orientation, moreover, with slight variations, applies to the altars of the same kind found in the temples of the Palmyrene gods, Artemis, and Atargatis.

Among the remains of crude brick walls standing against the desert ramparts, a wall (G), also of crude bricks, was brought to light, while to the south, a room (I) and its door (H) were discovered. This temple has completely disappeared, since its ruins project hardly half a meter above bedrock. In contrast, while the south and east parts of the temple of the Palmyrene gods showed few remains on the ground, its center and north part in particular contained masses of ruins whose important walls were cleared. I am inclined to believe that the complete destruction of this temple was the result of its proximity to that part of the ramparts where the town was stormed during a siege, which left as evidence the long mound near Tower 15. The ravages caused by the engines of war and the fury of the assailants as they entered the city effected the destruction of the edifice.

The New Altars from the Palmyrene Gate.

The two altars made of plaster and other materials which occupied the angles of the first door on the city side were partially destroyed in order to extract the ancient documents which they concealed. On the north side, nothing was found but small reddish stones and fragments of coarse pottery imbedded in mortar. On the very wall of the door, a

large graffito (No. 175, below) was found on February 3, mentioning Apollonius, the son of Aristonos, and dated in the year 476 of the Seleucid Era (164-165 A.D.). Accordingly, the altars were erected after this date. On the south side, three thymiateria greatly damaged by fire were brought to light on the second of February. The two situated near the gate, to the west, show no trace of an inscription. They had been studded with a large number of iron nails, and their surface had been hammered to insure a closer adhesion of the plaster. The last one, to the east, is more interesting. Unfortunately, its entire middle part is charred and two-thirds destroyed. Only the last line of the Greek inscription remains, along with an emblem on the upper part. It is composed of a circle divided by four full curves in such a way as to form a cross with widely spread arms, examples of which are often found in antiquity. The date of the monument, end of the second century or earlier, allows us to think of a Christian symbol, and if this is really the case, we have here the first monument of this sort found at Dura.

A small fragment of the base of a marble statuette representing Venus with two cupids holding up a cloth, a rather crude piece of work which seems to have been left unfinished, was imbedded in the upper masonry of the second altar. It was the only object discovered in this mass of ancient material (see below, p. 244).

Outside the gate, on the pier to the northwest of the large lateral stele, a landslide brought to light a three-line graffito mentioning Dioscorides, son of Crateos (No. 176, below).

The Temple of the Palmyrene Gods.

The center of the court as well as the east and south sides, which had not been excavated under M. F. Cumont, were cleared during the 1928-29 season. I had these foundations cleaned once again in the course of last season's work and made a complete plan of the whole.

The east side contains four rooms situated symmetrically in regard to a wall which almost follows the axis of this façade and the inner court. One can observe the curious position of the two vestibules (V and T) which are contiguous and communicate each with another room. The main vestibule (V) opens out through a portico of two columns (0.68 m. in diameter) between two pilasters. It measures 6.50 m. in width by 3.94 m. in depth and is set back 0.80 m. from the façade of the temple. On its south side, it communicates with a room (P) 7.52 m. by 5.50 m., which has no entrance on the court. The other vestibule (T),

situated to the north of the first, measures 7.25 m. by 4.75 m., and its large door (1.31 m. wide) opens on the exterior. It communicates with a room (I) situated to the north which, like the vestibule, opens on the inner court.

It seems that the first vestibule (V) was once the main entrance, or *entrée d'honneur* of the temple, which was reserved for processions. It was here, too, on the pavement, that we found the broken dedication of Xenocrates, son of Seleucus, dated 51-52 A.D.¹⁴ The second (T) was possibly reserved for the departure of the faithful.

Of the inner portico, places for four columns were found irregularly spaced so as to measure 2 m., 2.42 m., and 2.90 m. from axis to axis. The columns themselves are about 0.68 m. in diameter. Besides these, nothing of the colonnade remains, which ran 2.58 m. in front of the wall of the court.

Of the four rooms which bound the court to the south, only the one (K) at the west end near the tower of the Palmyrene gods was excavated by M. F. Cumont. We cleared the three others (M, N, and O), of which but a few centimeters remain above ground. Nevertheless, these remains allowed a plan to be made indicating the doorways without their exact dimensions. The rooms open off the court directly, but do not communicate with each other except for M, which is merely an annex of the chapel (K), whose walls M. F. Cumont found covered with frescoes, now lost due to the crumbling away of the walls themselves.

All three rooms measure 2.90 m. in width inside, with an outer wall about 0.70 m. wide. On the court side, the wall (0.77 m. wide) seems to have contained pilasters or buttresses. Room M is 4.74 m. long with a door 1.13 m. wide; N, the following, is much larger, measuring 7 m. in length and containing a settle on its west side. It had a door 1.24 m. wide with steps leading down to the court. The last (O) was 6.38 m. long and its door (about 1.50 m. wide), situated in the northwest corner, opened on the exterior of the court portico.

Remains of walls were also found in R between the rooms to the south and the central altar, as well as two bases(?). They may be the remains of earlier buildings than the temple whose ruins I have just described.

In removing a little heap of *débris* left in room F, situated to the north and behind the tribunal of court S, we made the important discovery of a little altar, completely intact and of the greatest archaeologi-

¹⁴ *Rep. II*, p. 12.

cal value. It is 0.73 m. high and 0.275 m. wide at the base, and it bears a Greek inscription of eight lines, in fine lettering (height of letters 0.015 m. to 0.027 m.). The dedication of this thymiaterium was made by Aurelius Diphilianus, soldier of the IV Legio Scythica Antoniniana, to the great god Betylos of the Orontes, unknown until now. Accordingly, this little monument goes back to the first years of the third century A.D. Its discovery makes the fourth inscription which I have discovered in this temple from 1929 to 1931.¹⁵

The Frescoes from the Temple of the Palmyrene Gods.

These paintings, partly discovered by Captain Murphy in 1921, and partly by M. F. Cumont during his excavations of 1922 and 1923, centered the attention of the scholarly world on the as yet unidentified site of Dura-Europos.¹⁶ From December 14 to 19, I had the walls of dry stone and earth rapidly removed, behind which these frescoes had been concealed for ten years in order to protect them from weathering and mutilation. I ascertained that none of them had been damaged, had them photographed in detail, then, after having covered them with cloth, had them walled up again. After negotiations which I carried out in January, 1931, at Damascus and Beirut, I obtained on January 24 a contract whereby these paintings were divided between the state of Syria and Yale University. M. E. Bacquet, a specialist from the Musée Guimet in Paris who had already removed important frescoes in Afghanistan for the expedition of M. Foucher, was intrusted with the task of removing these paintings. He arrived at Dura, March 13 and departed at the end of April after the fresco of the tribune Julius Terentius (VI) had been shipped off to New Haven, and the one painted by Ilasamsos (IV), with that of Conon (I), were on their way to Damascus *via* Aleppo. There, the latter was set up in the great hall of the museum under M. Bacquet's personal supervision.

Although well known and often reproduced since their discovery, I noticed during the work that certain details of these paintings had occasionally been reproduced inexactly. For instance, in the painting (II) depicting a priest making a sacrifice, the plinth is of green marble, not red, with black veins. Also, in the fresco of Conon (I), the thymiaterium, salver, pitcher, and scissors are not blue, but gray or white, suggesting ancient gilding.

¹⁵ See below, pp. 68 ff.

¹⁶ Cumont, *Fouilles*, text pp. 41-137, Pls. XXXI-LX.

But the most serious mistake to which we must call attention, particularly in the publications following M. F. Cumont's, involves the color of the people, of whom no one is black either in the picture of the priest performing a sacrifice (II) or in the fresco of Conon (I). Their complexions are simply swarthy, the result of red ocher which has darkened with time, a method used originally by the Egyptians, then by the Greeks to differentiate men from women for whom, as for Bithnanaia for example, a light yellow or rose color was reserved.

The House of the Priests.

The house near the temples of Artemis and Atargatis whose southwest part could not be cleared last season has been entirely excavated. Its arrangement shows no peculiarities, but several interesting objects were discovered therein.

First of all, on November 1, the top of a plaster stele came to light which was entirely cleared on November 5. It is 0.80 m. wide by 0.53 m. high and represents an Aphrodite Anadyomene twisting her hair with her right hand while gazing into a mirror. M. F. Cumont¹⁷ in 1922 had discovered a specimen of the head which came undoubtedly from the same mold and place as the one found this year. Our example, unfortunately broken, but complete, allows us to judge the ensemble which is framed by two little columns supporting an arcade whose shape the curved top of the stele follows.

On the seventh and twelfth of November, two blocks of grayish schistous stone were discovered in the same place. These objects served a double purpose; that is, they formed part of a series of molds in juxtaposition, each side of which formed a mold. Thus, the first (0.113 m. in diameter) shows on one side the inner decoration of a patera with moldings and vignette composed of clusters of grapes and vine leaves while the other side is the mold for the bottom of a patera of the same diameter with a raised base (diameter 0.037 m.). The second mold (diameter 0.087 m.) is more interesting for, although the border is composed of a single branch of ivy with leaves, clusters, and tendrils, the center (0.057 m. in diameter) represents a bust of the goddess Atargatis surrounded by a wreath of laurel.

We have here the mold of an object almost identical with the molded-lead patera discovered by M. F. Cumont in the temple of Artemis.¹⁸ It

¹⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles*, text p. 226, Pl. LXXXV, 2.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, text pp. 222-225; Pl. LXXXV, 1.

is only the border and the laurel wreath which differ slightly from the lead patera. The bust in the middle is almost identical as to headdress and jewelry, but the head of our specimen is finer and more expressive, confirming M. F. Cumont's opinion as to the Partho-Arsacid origin of these objects (second to third century A.D.).

It is curious that the first fragment of the mold described here, exactly fits together with and completes the one found by M. Cumont and reproduced on Plate XCV, 2, of his book, while our second one must be the mate which formed the decorated exterior of the one found by the same author and published on Plate XCV, 3. The shape of the stone block (which is not basalt, I think, but schist), with traces of a lead clasp bolt seems to put the question beyond doubt. The opposite side of the mold still shows the traces of two lead clasps which held this part in juxtaposition to the other half of the mold. It was used to form a phial 0.095 m. high, whose belly was 0.049 m. in diameter, neck 0.006 m., and base 0.03 m.

A few stone polishers and some small bronze objects added to the preceding ones, attest the character of this house which must have sheltered a part of the priesthood of the neighboring temples; in it small objects were manufactured to be used in the ceremonies or sold to the faithful.

Finally, on November 5, the same part of the House of the Priests produced two small hoards inclosed in elongated little vases of yellow earthenware, 0.16 m. high and 0.085 m. wide. They contain about 150 coins apiece, although the exact number cannot be stated due to their having been oxidized into a compact mass. Nevertheless, they are only covered with oxide and several which are detached are of silver, 0.017 m. in diameter, and can be easily cleaned. They are denarii of a Roman imperial issue of the second century A.D. and they weigh about 2.5 grams (see below, p. 259).

Besides, we must mention four rectangular blocks of plaster measuring from 0.18 m. to 0.23 m. to a side and from 0.285 m. to 0.32 m. in height from one of whose sides the bust of a warrior projects 0.03 m. to 0.06 m. Blocks of the same type and material but lacking the relief (height 0.27 m., sides 0.20 m. by 0.20 m.) are found in all parts of the excavation. The tops of some of them support a shallow cup suggesting that they may be stands for vases or small portable thymiateria.

A certain number of plain terra cotta lamps and badly oxidized bronze coins complete the group of objects found in this house.

5. *The Palace or Inner Redoubt (Pl. III).*

The outer northwest wall of this building overlooks the abrupt slopes of the inner ravine which was once a city street leading from the plateau to the plain of the Euphrates, passing by the southeast face of the citadel. It had attracted my attention during the first season, and I had cleared some of its rooms and some pertaining to neighboring houses (20-30) in April-May, 1928.¹⁹ It has been entirely cleared during this season and is now the most imposing and best-preserved ancient edifice of Dura which has come down to our time. It was built with great care and must have been the palace of the prince or governor of the region, defended by its very situation and the art of its builder, rather than a veritable redoubt.

One can clearly distinguish, in spite of later additions and modifications, two contiguous units of construction: the actual palace and the private apartments.

The palace forms an almost perfect square (36.5 m. by 38 m.) which contained reception halls and chambers of state, three entrances with large vestibules, a central court, audience hall, offices, and an upper story or stories, for the walls are very thick (1.05 m.). The whole constitutes a well-defended fortress dominating the town.

On the northeast and southeast sides, a series of dwelling chambers surrounds interior courts and terminates at a gallery or large reunion hall, which is also well protected and overlooks the inner ravine. This group communicates with the palace solely by means of a small door (21) situated to the northeast and with the exterior by a postern located in the southwest corner of the outer court (3).

The most remarkable arrangement encountered here is that of the main entrance or chamber of state (A) which is situated to the southwest and is flanked by a service entrance (D). It opens almost directly on the abrupt slopes of the ravine, which leads us to believe that it was once reached by a monumental stairway, now completely destroyed. This is the less astonishing considering that the same held true of the high citadel and, as we shall see later, of the large central street of the town. Unfortunately, all these stairs disappeared quickly due to the destructive work of men as well as to that of the yearly rains which make such deep gullies throughout the Syrian desert.

As to the passageway to the south (F), it terminates in a portico of

¹⁹ *Rep. I*, pp. 23-24; *Pl. III*, 1.

four columns between corner pilasters and an esplanade (20.25 m. long) which seems to have been destined for celebrations and military parades. In fact, the reception hall on this side had a door which led directly into the vestibule (F), while the esplanade itself appears to have had no important means of communicating with the city. This, however, is still uncertain, since excavations have been carried out to date only as far as the edge of the ravine.

A single point remains doubtful in spite of my investigations: that is, the breach in the north wall of room S which is bounded below by a group of dwelling chambers. Many fallen stones had piled up there which I had carefully removed to reach the living rock in the belief of finding traces of a staircase which did not exist, as is the case in places of the same kind at Dura; yet, the breach can only be explained by the presence of a postern with a large stairway terminating at the vestibule S, an arrangement similar to that of the west side. Accordingly, certain rooms (28-30) below would have been used to guard the passage. A large window in the northwest wall of room W allowed the entrance itself, or the path leading up the abrupt slope of the rock, to be watched and defended. The care with which the main walls of the palace itself were built, as well as the gallery (Y and Z) of the apartments, the dressing and bossage of the exterior walls, are identical at least in principle with those of the high citadel and the base of the tower of the Palmyrene gods. Accordingly, I believe that they may be attributed to the same period and go back to the Macedonian origin of the town. Nevertheless, not a single epigraphical document has appeared to date this monument exactly.

Alterations of a later period indicate important changes in the use and purpose of the building: in the palace four doors were walled up: the reception hall was deprived of its communication with the vestibule F and the service entrance was cut off from the exterior and the guard rooms G and H, to be made into a kitchen. The west front wall of the palace is built of large well-hewn stones and the doors have molded piers composed of stones placed on edge and separated from the masonry of the wall itself, as is always the case at Dura. Its surface is badly weathered, while that of the east wall has remained in an excellent state of preservation due to the contiguous dwelling places. Former descriptions have studied the peculiarities of the bossage and joinings of the northwest face.²⁰ We shall not treat of this again.

²⁰ Cumont, *Fouilles*, text pp. 19-21, Pl. XXIV, 1 and 2.

On the west front, the little service door (d) has an exterior step. That of the main entrance (a) has disappeared. In its present state, the door of this main entrance would have opened out, but it appears that originally it was a plain passageway without means of being closed. The outer court was paved with small bricks (0.21 m. by 0.21 m.) dating from the Roman period. It was cleared in 1928 and is possibly only a late alteration together with the room (1) situated to the south and the passageway (2) where a place for the door opening on the court was cut out of the palace wall. This court was bounded on the north by a wall in which a door (?), or rather a window, opened on the ravine.

The end of the passage (2) measuring but 2.32 m. at its widest point, opens on the west corner of the esplanade (3). Entering by the main door (a) a large vestibule is encountered (18 m. by 11.33 m. by 6.45 m.) which communicates to the north with a room (X) and to the south with a secondary vestibule (D). Opposite, in the center, is a large door flanked by two smaller ones, through which there is access to a room (B) which opens on the inner court (C) by means of a colonnade. The outer door of the service passageway (D) was walled up together with the one opening on the guardroom to the south (G), and the one to the east, communicating with the other vestibule (D); this was later made into a kitchen; a long tall bench serving as a table and supported by pillars of masonry was constructed there, an arrangement found in almost all the houses of Dura dating from the end of the second or third century A.D. This allows us to identify the room as a kitchen, and some graffiti confirm the character of the room.

From the side facing the esplanade (3) the southeast part of the palace is entered by passing through a portico composed of four circular stone columns without cannellations (0.735 m. in diameter) and a vestibule (3), in whose north corner the palace door is situated. A large bench runs around the walls of this vestibule where the guards and petitioners whiled away their moments of waiting by scratching little scenes and inscriptions on the walls. A door flanked by two engaged columns, which appear to be a later piece of construction, opens on the vestibule (F) which adjoins two guardrooms and has a door now walled up in the suite to the east leading to the reception hall (J). The walls of the vestibule (F) and of its prolongation (E) to the north show many graffiti. The two vestibules south and west come together in E to open on the south colonnade of the inner court.

The inner court (C), 17.10 m. by 12.10 m., occupying the center of

the building, affords ventilation and communication between the various rooms. Its plan, walls to the north and east, colonnades to the south and west, clearly indicates the entrances of the palace. The columns, lacking bases in the Doric manner, are 0.708 m. in diameter at ground level, and their drums are polygonal, numbering twenty sides.

Room J, opening on the south portico, and K, following, are reception halls or chambers of state. The former measures 10.47 m. by 6.57 m., the latter is almost a square (8.10 m. by 7.70 m.). Visitors could reach it from the east of the court through a little vestibule (L) connecting with a large hall (M) (6.90 m. by 5 m.) which was possibly a waiting-room.

The north and east sides of the building are occupied, on the contrary, by rooms used as living quarters or guardrooms: the north front, facing the ravine, seems to have been reserved for the palace guard. This side has two rooms (X and V) communicating, respectively, with vestibules A and B. The second room has a door opening on a long apartment (W) (11 m. by 5.70 m.) whose west corner has fallen into the ravine. We have already spoken of its window (c) overlooking the slope on this side where four rooms (W, T, S, and R) occupy the entire length of the façade.

The following room (T) (5.70 m. by 7.70 m.) is paved with little bricks and has a door opening on a long vestibule (U) (2.45 m. wide) communicating with the inner court; it was equipped as a sort of kitchen, or, rather, bakery, where the *alveoli* can still be seen along the courtyard wall. Room S follows, whose north wall has fallen into the ravine and where, as we believe, a stairway ended, as the escarpment, still evident in the part destroyed, seems to indicate. Important alterations, moreover, were made in the east and south sides of this room where two doors were constructed in place of the original single door to the east, if, indeed, even that one existed. At this point an ancient wall (0.60 m. thick) can be observed, reinforced by another, 1 m. thick, situated to the east. I believe that we have here a narrow vestibule (4.35 m.) at which the stairway leading up from the ravine ended, and which communicated with the upper story of the palace solely by means of ladders, as was the case in the citadel and the fortification towers at Dura.

Room R, which follows, occupies the north angle of the palace and measures 7.76 m. by 5.82 m. or 5.72 m., for the wall here has badly crumbled. Two little staircases can still be seen along the wall domi-

nating the ravine. They must have served as a means of reaching the loopholes overlooking the ravine. This room communicates with those to the east by a door situated in the corner.

The most remarkable thing about the east side of the palace is the square staircase of four flights leading to the upper story (Q); it begins in room N, which in turn communicates with the east side of the courtyard. Under the first landing, a little room with a semicircular glass pane in the door, giving access to rooms O and P, was equipped with latrines. They are rare enough and deserve mention here. They were cleared in the spring of 1928 and are situated in a fairly secluded spot, although easily accessible from the ordinary living quarters. Room O furnishes the sole means of communication between the palace and the dwelling places annexed to it on the east.

The Annexes.

The buildings which surround the northeast and southwest sides of the palace contain three distinct groups: at the northeast extremity, a rectangle 22 m. by 16 m. (rooms Y, Z, 21, 22, and 23); to the east, various rooms opening on an inner passage and having a width of not more than about 1.20 m.; finally, to the southeast, a large dwelling place whose east corner has not been cleared, but whose west one has been brought to light and contains an inner court surrounded by various rooms. The rectangle to the northeast, whose construction is similar to that of the palace and which dates undoubtedly from the same period, communicates with it directly by means of a raised door equipped with several steps. To the south it comprises two rooms (21 and 23) and a vestibule (22) which opens directly on an exterior passageway (20) joining it to the buildings to the south. Through this vestibule, two large rooms were reached (Y and Z), about 13 m. long, the former 7.92 m., the latter 3.70 m. wide. Two large doors connected them, and the numerous stone column drums found piled up here doubtless come from a sort of tribunal which occupied the west side of the first room (Y) and of which there remains nothing but the foundation wall. The gallery (Z) was lighted by three large windows opening to the north, but since this part of the building has fallen into the ravine together with a section of the northeast wall, the third opening has only one of its piers as testimony of its former existence. It appears that we can consider this group as a pleasure pavilion or festal hall of the prince's family; perhaps it was even the harem, having an extensive but distant view of the town and being

removed, at any rate, from the rest of the palace. Even today, we find the same arrangement in the palaces of the Sultan of Morocco.

On the lower level of this part of the palace on the side facing the ravine, a rectangle of about 16 m. by 21 m. was covered by buildings which seem to have been annexes. Four rooms alone (27-30) were cleared in May, 1928.

A vestibule (21) connected the palace with the buildings annexed to the northeast through a door (which was later walled up) and with the group of rooms on the east face. This group contains two large rooms and a smaller one, situated between an inner corridor running along the palace wall (15 and 18) and an outer one (20) wedged between an exterior rampart dominating the steep slope of the plateau toward the Euphrates and the buildings on this side.

As far as we can judge from present excavations, the only communication of the southeast building with the exterior was by means of a passageway or street (6) situated on its south side. Its main entrance, which must be on this side, has not yet been excavated. A large court (11) has been found surrounded by rooms of which the largest, in the west corner, measures 10.48 m. by 6.20 m.

In the opposite corner, a staircase (13) can be seen similar to that of the palace: square, of four flights, affording access, off the first landing, to the place where the latrines seem to have been located. Their function, we believe, was also partially performed by large stone conical jars about 0.60 m. tall and 0.70 m. in diameter, having conical hollows. Resting upon their narrow base and for that reason easy to empty in spite of their great weight, they are found in 47, 27, and in two other rooms connected with the palace—that is, in the corners of the courtyards, the vestibules, and the passageways, and they are to be found in corresponding places throughout the houses of Dura. Accordingly, it seems that we must identify them with those jars, *testa* or *curtus*,²¹ which the fullers maintained in Roman towns. As a matter of fact we find but little subterranean piping at Dura and but few regular latrines, which leads us to believe that offal was regularly collected in the town to furnish the fertilizer necessary for agriculture and the scouring material used by the fullers and curriers in treating wool and leather.

Finds.

The palace and its annexes have furnished but few household objects.

²¹ Daremberg-Saglio, *Latrina*, III, 2, p. 988.

The only important one was the Heracles discovered in 1928.²² This season only produced a beautiful bronze fibula intact, a heavy bronze "macaroon" (0.153 m. in diameter), together with the remains of a collar of the same metal (bronze or silver?), a terra cotta statuette of a ram, and a fair amount of common pottery and highly oxidized coins.

The graffiti are numerous, particularly on the walls of the vestibules and the kitchen. The former run to horses and horsemen, the latter deal with the food of the period, in which the hams (*pernae*) are worthy of mention (see below, p. 148).

6. *The Houses.*

The House of the Large Atrium (Pl. IV).

The block of houses thus designated is situated in the southeast part of the city, about halfway between the temple of Artemis and the Palace or inner Redoubt, and a little to the south of them. A single block of houses separates it from the block formed by the temple of Atargatis and the House of the Priests, and its northeast exterior wall borders on the same cross street as the south wall of the House of the Priests. The upper slope of the central ravine begins at its northwest corner. From southeast to northwest, it measures 73.21 m., and its length across is 39 m.

During earlier campaigns, my attention had been drawn to the spot by an unusual circular depression, the largest to occur on the ancient surface of Dura and the only one having a geometric form. An outline of buildings on a square plan surrounded it which the rains brought into fairly clear relief, and 25 m. to the southeast of this hollow, a small mound of dirt, of well-rounded proportions, could not fail to be noticed. This corner of the ruins had to be investigated to arrive at a solution of the problem which it presented. Excavations begun here in November, 1930, disappointed our hope of finding a circular edifice. It was simply a large, deep cistern which we found, hollowed out of the rock in the middle of a spacious atrium and destined to collect the water from the neighboring roofs. The caving in of the vault of the cistern and the paving of the court, had caused the surface to subside with it and the hollow thus created, although slowly filled throughout the centuries, still remained well defined.

On account of the importance of its atrium (13.25 m. by 15.45 m.),

²² *Rep. I*, Pl. IV, 3.

of its two well-proportioned colonnades (0.74 m. in diameter), of its reception hall (11.04 m. by 6.70 m.), and of its monumental staircases (1.35 m. wide) this house belongs among the most spacious and rich of ancient Dura. At any rate it is the most important one as yet uncovered. We must even consider it a public edifice or, at least, the house of a high official whose duties entailed much receiving and important functions. With time, however, its fortune changed and this wealthy habitation was divided into at least seven dwellings. For this reason, new doors were made opening on the adjoining streets and others were walled up to separate the various distinct apartments. Thus transformed, the palace became a group of dwellings not unlike an apartment house.

In its present state, it is sometimes difficult to limit exactly the new divisions of a house whose plan was rather confused from its very beginning. The houses of Dura, in fact, present a uniform Greek plan: a square or rectangular atrium which ventilates and is surrounded by rooms which have no opening on the street. The entrance from without is effected through a small vestibule which is prolonged by a corridor which leads directly into the atrium, where the staircase leading to the upper story also begins. The general plan, then, is that of a square or rectangle, and, if the house is spacious, as many courts as there are rectangles in the block will occur.

The "insulae" of Dura, measuring about 72 m. by 39 m., are usually divided into two blocks by a central alley. This is the case in regard to the temple of Atargatis and the House of the Priests. But each of the rectangles so formed may be further parceled out, according to the wishes of the owners, into two, or even four, sections which inclose as many separate dwelling places, opening on adjoining streets. This is what happened to the block containing the House of the Large Atrium. To bring this parceling clearly into relief, we have designated the courts by the letters A to G, the doors, of which many date from a later period, by the letters o to z, and we have numbered the rooms of the houses, starting from the northwest corner, by sections. This division, however, is uncertain in the middle of the dwellings.

In its original state, the large house had four main entrances: two to the west (o and p) and two to the east (r and τ). In addition to these, we have one to the south (q) and three to the north (w, x, and y), as well as the secondary entrances to the east (s, u, and v). The large west entrance (p) opens on a vestibule with a small adjoining room, then leads to the north side of the atrium through a room (66)

6.60 m. in length. The east entrance (T), however, opens directly on a long corridor (36, 37; 1.95 m. wide) which is a prolongation of the north gallery of the atrium and which represents about the middle of the block. It occupies the position of a central alley between blocks, like the one, for example, which separates the temple of Atargatis and the House of the Priests.

The south part of our house was used for receiving and on state occasions, while the north one was reserved for dwelling purposes and seems to have been divided from the beginning into three sections (E, F, and G), separate and distinct but communicating with each other.

The main court (A) is imposing—its north side measuring 13.35 m., its east and west sides 15.45 m. It is surrounded by a gallery having, to the north and south, two porticoes of four circular stone columns, 0.74 m. in diameter at the base, which are engaged in a wall with a convex top, possibly of a later period, which also runs along the other two sides. In the middle is the large hollow hewn out of rock which we consider a cistern or possibly an open pool. Benches of masonry line the walls of the court and colonnades through which five passages lead: three to the south and two to the west. Finally, two large, straight staircases, 1.35 m. wide, begin at the northwest and northeast corners of the court and lead us to suppose the coming and going of many people. Under the south peristyle three large doors open on a chamber of state, 6.70 m. by 11.04 m., communicating in turn to the south, by three doors, with two little rooms (62 and 70) and on the two other sides with rooms 45 and 60; to the west and north three rooms on each side might well have been offices or waiting rooms. The entire southwest corner (B), where alterations were made at a later period, seems to have originally constituted the annexes of this part of the house with a main entrance to the south. Later, it became a small separate house. Room 68 has a well bordered with stone. The southeast corner, however, included a main atrium (C) with two lateral porticoes (diameter of the columns, 0.58 m.) and a second one (D) which appears to have formed part of the private apartments of the head of the house. It has two doors opening on the street to the east and a small staircase (52) with a dark room underneath it, possibly a latrine. Otherwise, it presents no unusual detail, with the exception of a kitchen (43), where the jars are still in place in a settle of masonry, and a little annex (42) with a bench.

The north part of the block seems to have been assigned to the family of this high official who had at their disposal three apartments or sepa-

rate houses (E, F, and G) which still communicated with each other. This identification seems to be confirmed by the jewelry, vases, and funeral busts found there. The staircases are open and lead up from the courts proper.

House E had an original entrance in V, opening on vestibule 35; another one was made in U, but the first one was walled up. From here the court is entered which contains two staircases in the northwest and southeast corners, and a third (38), long and narrow, which leads to a latrine with a cesspool and a stone seat, the only one as yet discovered in place. The others, often of black basalt, were found out of place; for example, near the Tower of the Archers or the Palmyrene Gate. A large stone vessel, of the kind already mentioned as being in the palace, was found in the court leaning against the east wall, another lay at the foot of the small staircase (30). Others were encountered in each one of these vestibules (14, 17, 50, 54, and 69) and near staircases 8 and 15.

The rooms of this house only open on the east and west sides of the court while the north and south sides constitute walls without openings. Room 29, with a column base in its northwest corner, seems rather to have been a court on which a kitchen opened.

The following house (F) has a simple plan: eight rooms surrounding a central court. It can be considered as the normal "classical" type of house at Dura with its open staircase situated in the court and its reception hall on the south side next to the entrance. On the west side room 18 of this house communicates with that of the northwest angle (G) whose apartments are more spacious, but arranged in the same way, with latrines(?), near the staircase.

Finds.

The excavation of this house was finished by the end of January, 1931. On November 6 it produced a small hoard of coins (about 0.03 m. in diameter), of which the greater part seems to be Roman of the second and third centuries A.D. On the same side were found rather numerous remains of the decorated plaster cornice of Orthonobazus,²⁸ among which part of the name was discovered. Finally, on November 8, outside the southeast wall, a jar (0.58 m. high, 0.31 m. diameter) was discovered containing the bones of a person in his prime with all his teeth in good condition. The skeleton seems to be complete and the narrowness of the

²⁸ Cumont, *Fouilles*, text pp. 226-227, Pls. LXXXVI and LXXXVII.

vessel in which it was confined leads us to believe that the bones were piously collected for burial.

A badly ruined room on the southwest side, and a neighboring staircase, furnished also a number of painted bricks of large dimensions (0.41 m. by 0.43 m. by 0.05 m.) made of red terra cotta, that is, modeled after the Roman *sesquipedales* (about 0.45 m. by 0.45 m.). They are adorned either with faces of men and women, or with decorations such as leafy crowns, pieces of fruit grouped in threes—pomegranates, grapes, and tendrils—or with geometric patterns. The colors employed are red—especially for outline—black, yellow, and green, this last but rarely. The background is white and covers the color of the brick completely. Each ornament or figure is found on a separate brick. The fragility of the painted design and the thick coat of plaster adhering to the underside of the bricks, indicate that they were attached upright to the walls, but the excavations have told us nothing so far as to their original position (see below, pp. 42 ff.).

The work of clearing this house, which was completely finished by the end of January, gave us, among other things, a number of enameled vases and a block of plaster with a head on one side. The hair of this head is divided into three tufts, one on each side of the face, and one at the top of the head, quite characteristic of many heads found at Dura-Europos.

A little bas-relief of Heracles (club in hand) with the lion's skin thrown over his shoulder, but with the head and right arm unfortunately broken (height 0.34 m., width 0.19 m., thickness 0.09 m.), was discovered in this house. Attention, too, must be called to a broken statuette of Venus, three pieces of red coral, and a terra cotta, openwork lantern, found intact, but the two most important discoveries made in this spot are: a silver vase with a salver of the same metal, and a gold earring (see below, pp. 229, 242, 243).

The vase is 0.228 m. in height, 0.171 m. in diameter at the belly, 0.118 m. at the neck, and 0.101 m. at the base. Above its belly it is adorned with a *motif* of foliage formed of grape leaves and branches, and seven alternate masks recalling the famous "mask-vases" of the Vatican and the Louvre. Another band of leaves and fruit decorates the narrowest part of the neck (diameter 0.08 m., 0.93 m. with the band). The style of the work is rather good. The vase is heavy and solid; the salver (diameter 0.23 m.), however, is very thin and fragile. It has a ring as handle (diameter 0.049 m., thickness 0.009 m.) and is adorned in the

center with a sharply protruding stud (diameter 0.005 m.). The vase is badly dented in three places on one side, and the shattered decorations reveal a white powderlike substance which is only oxidized silver.

The gold earring found January 17, and intended for the left ear, is 0.55 m. in height. The large hook (0.03 m.) is attached to an oval medallion whose center contains a garnet, or a piece of colored glass similar in aspect, which is accompanied by two smaller stones cut like diamonds and joined to the fastening of the earring. The stones are set in gold. Two little glass beads preceded the pendant of gold or precious stones, which is lost. This piece of jewelry is one of the most beautiful found at Dura as yet. A few days before, on the fourth, a little distance away, the hook of a piece of jewelry similar to that found on December 29 in the House of the Frescoes was discovered.

Several terra cotta lamps were found in this house, among which was one of Greek manufacture (diameter 0.07 m.) portraying an erotic scene (January 15). Doubtless, it was an importation like the majority of these little objects, which do not seem to have been made here.

The House to the Southeast of the Palmyrene Gate.

The excavation of this house entailed clearing, on the south side of the main street of Dura, part of a house standing against the ramparts and contiguous to the southwest baths which were cleared last year.

Its entrance (A), situated 15 m. from the exterior of the great gate of the tower, opens on a little vestibule (I) which leads directly into a court measuring 7.45 m. by 2.90 m. On the west side of the vestibule, latrines stand against a staircase of two straight flights, well preserved, although built of crude bricks coated with plaster. Rooms 2 and 3 were covered by the rampart's lower slope, up which runs a crude brick staircase at whose foot is a small door leading into the house.

Room 7, where the staircase is situated leading to the upper floor, opens on rooms 9 and 10 to the east, 6 to the west, and probably on a large court to the south which has not yet been cleared.

The east section of this abode is pretty well effaced and contains three rooms (12, 13, and 15) and a corridor (14) which derive their light from an alley (II) and a large court (16), seven to ten meters away from the baths.

Finds.

A few rude pieces of pottery and several coins were the only finds

made during the excavating, but while carrying out a final cleaning of the pavement of the baths, an inscription came to light in the mosaics of the vestibule of the laconica. It was inscribed within a *tabula ansata*, in letters (0.07 m. to 0.08 m. high) whose blackness, as well as that of the frame, stood out against the red background of the mosaics. It tells us that the building was dedicated to the Fortune of the Baths (No. 180, below).

The Buildings at the East End of the Palmyra Road.

These buildings, which were partially excavated by the troops in 1924, were entirely cleared of ancient and modern rubbish, and we now know the plan of this part of the city.

The large street starting at the Palmyrene Gate and crossing the upper town from west to east ends about 42 m. from the edge of the plateau at a monumental arch, behind which a road, 7.50 m. wide, continued lined with porticoes. M. F. Cumont had already noticed it, for he wrote,²⁴ "It seems that at this end the main street was closed off by a portico or terminated by an arcade, traces of which seem to have been recognized."

This main artery of the town was prolonged toward the Euphrates, first by a large stairway(?), 4.40 m. in width, leading down the abrupt rocky slope of the inner ravine, whence it followed a gentle slope on each side of which were houses and shops. The street has been cleared as far as the foot of the inner Redoubt at the bottom of the ravine which was hollowed out by rains in this part of the ancient city. Between this monumental gate and the edge of the plateau, this avenue is crossed by another street, 7.40 m. wide, running parallel to the desert ramparts and it is on this second street, about 90 m. to the south, that the large entrance of the temple of Atargatis is situated.

On the edge of the plateau small houses overlook the inner ravine. They were cleared by M. F. Cumont in 1922 and 1923, and have now been subjected to a final cleaning. As result, a small number of coins and bronze objects were found.

Directly behind the monumental arch, to the south, lies a private house (E), while to the north several stores in a good state of preservation are situated.

²⁴ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 25.

The Monumental Arch.

This badly ruined piece of construction was 9.30 m. wide by 1.94 m. thick and contained a central passageway, 3.30 m. wide, flanked by two lateral passageways, 0.86 m. wide. The avenue on each side of the arch measured 9.50 m. in width. In clearing it four stone blocks were discovered, inscribed with the remains of an inscription in rather large Greek letters (height 0.05 m.), which seem to come from this monument (No. 169, below). The arch proper was adorned with two round stone columns (0.61 m. in diameter) which were doubtless engaged and stood on a base of masonry, on which one can still see traces of inscriptions (height of letters 0.045 m.).

The street which crosses the avenue at the level of the monumental arch varies in its width, like all the streets of Dura. South of the gate it is from 6.80 m. to 7.40 m. wide; north of it, only 5.90 m. On the south side the street follows the blank wall of a house, then passes the entrance of the House of the Frescoes (F) and those of the three adjoining stores (Pl. V), finally reaching the door of a house as yet unexcavated. This location of little stores or shops occupying the ground floor fronts of houses seems to have been rather general at Dura. While forming an actual part of the house they are sometimes completely separate from it, sometimes joined by a small door. In the latter case we can well suppose that they were used as a place of business by the proprietor of the house. This was the case in the house whose atrium was decorated with the frescoes portraying scenes of battle (House of the Frescoes).

On the contrary, the house adjoining the monumental arch to the north has its entrance to the east of it and is free of shops. The entrance vestibule at right angles, containing a straight staircase rising in two flights, leads into an atrium by which all the other rooms of the house were reached and ventilated. In the traditional oriental fashion, the door is the house's sole opening on the street.

The monumental arch is contiguous to the northwest corner of a block of houses, two of which were excavated during the season. We shall call the house at the northwest corner E, the other to the south of it F, or the "House of the Frescoes." (Pl. V.)

House E.

The door of this house opens to the north on the Palmyra road. Entering there, one comes upon a little vestibule (10) in whose south corner a door leads into the court 1, containing a staircase to the east. On

the same side are two other little rooms, the first of which (11) shows on its north wall the traces of two stelae painted in red and some plaster framework in relief. To the north of this court are the annexes (8 and 9), and to the west, a large room (7), 7.95 m. by 4.40 m. On the south side an opening 3.55 m. wide leads into a smaller inner court (5) measuring 8.30 m. by 5.50 m. This inner court communicates with a little annex (6) to the west and a fairly spacious room (4) (4.87 m. by 5.25 m.) to the east.

The House of the Frescoes (F).

The general plan of this dwelling (Pl. V) resembles that of the preceding, but its entrance (7) is situated to the west on the cross street which leads to the temple of Atargatis. It forms a vestibule (6.85 m. by 1.85 m.) whose east corner opens on a court (1). Its level is two or three steps below that of the street and there we find a large stone jar of the kind already mentioned in connection with the preceding houses. The staircase, situated in the northeast part of the court, is a straight one, rising between two of the inner walls (1.55 m. in width), from the highest of three masonry steps. Under it is an obscure recess used, no doubt, as a latrine. On the north side of the court a large room (8), and on the east two smaller ones (10 and 2), are located. The first of these, 10 (2.8 m. by 4 m.), still shows on its north wall traces of painting, at present almost indistinguishable. To the west a room, 6 (4.85 m. by 4.25 m.), has a door in its present state opening on the cross street, which, however, must have been made at a later date. At the same time two openings into a neighboring room (5) were probably walled up. Four painted stelae with plaster frames would then have been placed along the south wall. These have since been effaced. To the south of this court (1) an opening (1.91 m. wide) affords communication with an inner court (4) similar to the one in the House E, and measuring 8.72 m. by 5.77 m. A low settle of masonry (1.40 m. in width) follows the walls. On it must have been placed the carpets and cushions on which one could stretch out in the shade of an awning or gallery. The northwest exposure of this room is, in fact, the freshest in summer in this country where the heat is stifling for five months of the year. This second court of the houses must have been the principal resting-place at the beginning and end of the hot season when as yet no need was felt of retiring to the terraces to pass the night.

The greater part of the southwest and southeast walls of this court

were once covered with paintings, but that part of them uncovered in 1924 has by now almost entirely disappeared. One can still distinguish the silhouette of two horsemen, one galloping after the other. The horses are painted black with red hoofs, the same colors used in depicting the riders. The part recently discovered, December 12, covers the southeast wall opposite the door and consists of a picture painted rapidly in black with the brush and inclosed in a frame composed of a checkerboard *motif* with red triangles along the edge whose outline is barely visible. The scene depicting eight horsemen pursuing each other in groups of two is fairly well preserved and most interesting. The men have luxuriant hair parted in three tufts, and are clothed in tunics buttoned up the front. They are all armed with lances. A quiver hangs from each saddle and the legs of the horsemen are protected by a piece of leather or of some floating material. Their small, squat horses are galloping.

The enemy is distinguished by a long garment with vertical stripes, whose sleeves are striped horizontally. Under this the end of the trousers appears, gathered in around the ankle. They are armed with swords and little round shields and each one of the four is being pierced by the lance of his pursuer. Some are falling head first, others are lying flat upon their horses' backs. The horseman the farthest to the right is upside down and seems to have been carrying before him one of his dead companions, stretched out on his saddle with his feet over the horse's head. Both of these men are transfixed by the lances of the principal horsemen(?). The figures measure from 0.31 m. to 0.18 m. in length and from 0.31 m. to 0.20 m. in height. Below, a large dog with a long tail held out stiffly (0.14 m.) chases a female rabbit (0.08 m.) and two of her young (0.03 m.), while a fox makes a rapid escape. Above the battle scene a king(?) with his hair parted in three tufts, seems to be seated with the bodies of enemies or of an enemy and his horse on his left. But the *motif* is very indistinct. Above this was still another scene, also in black and on a larger scale, in which it is impossible to perceive anything certain. The style of the whole is vigorous and lively. Some inscriptions also done with the brush seem to be in Pehlevi. It appears that we should interpret this scene as an encounter between Parthians and desert nomads (see below, pp. 182 ff.).

These frescoes have been carefully protected since the moment of their discovery and a chemical spray was applied to fix the colors until they could be removed.

A little room (3) adjoins the inner court to the east, and two others

(5 and G 13) to the west were also originally connected with it, but the corner door and that of 5 were walled up in order to make the rooms over into shops opening directly on the street. The first of these (5) was possibly an oil or wine shop, for three large earthenware jars are still to be seen, sunk into the ground, near the south wall, and these must have held liquids. Moreover, a considerable number of different kinds of vases was found on the spot. The second room (G 13), measuring 2.35 m. by 4.65 m., contained nothing but a large jar. A small door had been made in the south wall to afford communication with the vestibule of another house as yet unexcavated. Accordingly, during its final period, this house, doubtless occupied by a merchant, presented a façade of three shops along the street, the chief one of which communicated directly with the dwelling quarters of the proprietor and must have been his own shop.

Frescoes and Graffiti.

In regard to the frescoes and paintings found at Dura, it is worth noticing that they are comparable to our wall paper, for they constitute the main decoration of the houses. Due to their fragility, however, we have but few samples. For, indeed, as in the case of wall paper, new layers were made to cover old when the owners were renovating their houses. To do this the original layer of plaster was vigorously gashed in order to furnish a "hold" for the new layer, which would in turn receive the paint. The process was the same for each renovation, but occasionally the preliminary gashing was omitted. Today, the humidity and the slow decomposition of the plaster cause the successive layers to become detached and to scale off in pieces of various sizes. Sometimes, the chance detachment of a layer or layers brings us the good fortune of discovering frescoes or graffiti in a good state of preservation, although it is difficult to find any large surface.

This superimposition of decorative layers explains the presence of the Parthian frescoes and graffiti, rare enough to be sure, which adorn houses of which the plan and the molding of the doorposts and lintels are clearly Hellenistic. Frescoes and graffiti are, in fact, nothing but the vestiges of late occupation (third century A.D.) of earlier buildings which have been renovated.

Finds.

Several coins and vases were found in this place as well as a beautiful gold earring, unharmed but for the loss of its jewel, doubtless a garnet.

It is in the shape of a small elongated perfume container with three handles, the whole adorned with tiny gold beads. It reminds one of the work done today by the jewelers of Damascus. This earring is similar to the one found in May, 1928, and now preserved in the Damascus Museum, which I could not photograph at the moment of its discovery. Its height is 0.05 m. *in toto*, its maximum width 0.03 m. Accordingly, it is a little thicker than the one found this year. Doubtless it came from the same house, inasmuch as the soldier who found it was returning to the Citadel from the Palmyrene Gate when he made the find. He told me it was lying on the surface of the ground (see below, p. 248).

But it was in Vestibule A and at the foot of staircase a, that a heap of rubbish furnished us with the greatest number of objects, broken, to be sure, but nevertheless precious. We shall call particular attention to a marble torso of Heracles (height 0.34 m., width 0.22 m.): the head, the legs, and the base have unfortunately been lost; a bronze bell²⁵ with a large ring attached to the head of a small figure cut off at the breast; two more torsos from broken statuettes, a number of rings, some fibulae and small bronze objects, among which are the knocker, lock, and part of the iron strips which held the door together.

Glassware, unfortunately, was only found in a fragmentary state, but one of the fragments is exceedingly precious (found February 10; width 0.045 m., height 0.03 m., thickness 0.0025 m.). It belonged to a vase or goblet of milky white opaline glass whose diameter at the middle was 0.064 m. On the lower part of the fragment a head has been designed, entirely gilded, and set off with black lines. It is the head of a woman whose luxuriant hair is adorned with a comb containing four large red garnets. Remaining is the upper half of the head alone with the right eye. Above, to the left, is a small piece of ornamentation consisting of four dabs or circles of red; to the right, an inscription in black reads ΘΕΤΙΣ. The position of this inscription with the ϵ placed below the first line in the middle, indicates that the vase must have been decorated with three or four figures of divinities. The style of the object shows a relationship to beautiful objects of the Byzantine period.²⁶ Unfortunately, however, in spite of careful searching, only one more fragment was discovered which could have come from this vase. Somewhat smaller, it contained no traces of gilding.

²⁵ Editorial Note. It is not a bell; see below, pp. 232 ff.

²⁶ Editorial Note. For its style and parallels, see below, pp. 252 ff.

The House of Nebuchelus (H).

Of the group of houses situated to the north of the monumental arch, the south part facing the main street has alone been excavated. Here, a portico of circular columns (0.58 m. in diameter) covers the entrances to five shops, of which the two farthest to the east, narrower than the rest, contain a cellar with masonry settles and communicate with the great court of the house, which is 6.80 m. wide (Pl. XVI, 1). Beyond them is the entrance of the house proper. In 1924 excavations were carried on here which rarely reached floor level. These we completed by clearing the five stores; the vestibule and atrium; an important staircase to the west—intact as far as the first landing, with latrine beneath; two rooms off the court situated to the west and another to the east. In this place the walls are preserved to a great height (2.80 m. to 3.15 m.).

In the southwest corner of this room one can see three superimposed little niches hollowed out of the wall proper, and two series of holes (diameter 0.03 m.) from 1.60 m. to 2 m. above the ground, which must have held pegs for hanging up clothes. The numerous Greek graffiti which cover the walls of this room go back to the middle of the third century A.D. and inform us that we are here dealing with a shop which contained various kinds of merchandise, textiles, perfumes, and jewelry belonging to Nebuchelus. One can also see six horoscopes similar to the one found in the house at the edge of the ravine farther to the south. The whole is equivalent in importance to the contents of a good parchment, and is the largest group of graffiti as yet discovered at Dura.²⁷

Among the objects taken from this house is an ivory knob off a piece of furniture and a little red terra cotta vase (height 0.17 m., width 0.105 m.) in the shape of a gourd.

The House at the Edge of the Ravine (No plan at hand).

A last row of houses was constructed at the edge of the plateau at the east end of the Palmyra road. They are situated on the east side of the street which bounds the preceding block and which, farther to the south, follows the west wall of the House of the Large Atrium. These dwellings had been partially excavated in the summer of 1924; thus, here too we merely completed the work left undone. Moreover, the entire east part of this section, which overhung the abrupt slope of the ravine, has disappeared.

²⁷ Editorial Note. See below, pp. 79 ff.

The house situated at the east end of the Palmyra road shows the usual Dura plan of two successive courts surrounded by rooms. These open on the street to the northwest through three doors: the first to the east leads directly into the court; the second into a portico, likewise in the court; the third, to the west, into a vestibule (A).

The court (B), of considerable size (5.85 m. by over 8 m.), is adorned on the west side with a modest portico composed of a single column between pilasters, in back of which is a room (diameter 4.05 m. by 7.40 m.). To the north we have a long and narrow chamber (C); to the south, however, a second court or inner inclosure (F) whose dimensions nearly equal that of the first (width 5.65 m.), and which communicates with it by means of a large opening (1.95 m.). To the west of this second court a large room (5.95 m. by 5.75 m.) could be reached directly from without by passing under the gallery of the first court. It, too, opens directly on the second court (F), as well as on the corner room (I, 5.80 m. by 2.60 m.). Two rooms more (G and H) are located on the south side of the court, where we find a large outer corridor below the surface of the street.

The Ravine Shops.²⁸

Halfway down the inner ravine a small group of buildings had been built on a sort of landing checking the precipitous slope of the street. They seem to have been two substantial adjoining shops containing storerooms, and not houses, from which they clearly differ as to plan. At about the middle of a façade, 31.50 m. long, under a sort of peristyle with a large central column (diameter 0.80 m.), two passages (2.80 m. wide) open on the street. The building contains a vestibule (A), 8.48 m. by 2.19 m., off which two large rooms are located (6.05 m. by 3.65 m. and 5.75 m. by 3.90 m.). The one to the east (B) still contains four large earthenware jars inserted in its floor. The west storeroom (C) communicates with another large room (5.55 m. by 4 m.) which opens on a lower corridor (F). This last, by turning at right angles, prolongs the vestibule behind the wall of the façade. There one can see two large stone jars of the kind already mentioned as present in various houses of the town.

Annexed to these shops on the east are six intercommunicating rooms whose outer walls have fallen into the ravine. They contain a small

²⁸ Editorial Note. Of these no plan is at hand.

interior staircase (J) and several of them derive their light from a court (N), 5.40 m. wide.

Finds.

The walls of this little group are razed to within 1.20 m. of the ground, which has almost entirely prevented the survival of graffiti or inscriptions. Nevertheless, a silver(?) ring, a beautiful bronze fibula, and a small terra cotta lamp whose design represents a kneeling woman with outstretched arms were discovered. These lamps, common throughout the entire Graeco-Roman world, are rare here and the one just mentioned is the second of its kind found at Dura up till now.

A second street, to the north of the first, descends from the plateau to the bottom of the ravine. It, too, was cleared. By making a number of successive turns, it reaches the upper town by a more gradual slope and the walls on each side of it are extremely low when they have not been entirely carried away by water pouring down from the plateau above. Its width varies between 4.15 m. and 6.40 m. Nevertheless, by clearing these two descending streets, we learned something about the methods of communication between the upper and lower towns of Dura. All these houses and streets furnished us with a large number of coins and bronze objects as well as some sets of pottery, either glazed or of simple terra cotta.

II ARCHITECTURE

BY P. V. C. BAUR

ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

Painted Terra Cotta Plaques.

IN the main room of the House of the Court or of the Large Atrium, as M. Pillet calls it, were found a few completely preserved painted bricks and a large number of fragments. They are square, 0.41 m. by 0.41 m., and are 0.05 m. thick. In all cases there are traces of mortar or plaster on the roughened back, wherefore it is evident that they once adorned the walls of that room, forming a veneer to conceal the crude building material. The face of these plaques is covered with a creamy white slip on which the following designs, repeated again and again, are painted: the face of Flora, the bust of a youth, bunches of grapes, a cluster of three pomegranates, a similar cluster of three apples, fir cones, two fish (one swimming to left, the other to right), a fragment of a goat, a group of four shields of pelta shape, a rose, and a fragment of what may be a wreath.

The face of Flora (Pl. VI, 4)¹ reminds one of a mask, since there is no trace of a neck. It is painted in frontal view. The face, which is pale pink, is outlined in brownish black; the same color is used for the outline of the hair, although the hair itself within this outline is black streaked with maroon. The nose is outlined in maroon. The eyebrows are painted in two lines, the upper one black, the lower maroon; the lids are outlined in a single maroon line forming a sharp contrast to the white of the eye which is almost filled with an abnormally large black pupil. This gives a staring appearance of the countenance which is so characteristic of the paintings from the Baths,² although our painting is superior to them. In both cases, however, the large pupils touch the upper lids, thereby forming a sharp contrast to the Parthian Victory, painted on a wooden panel,³ where the pupils are in the corners of the eyes. The leaves and flowers in the hair and the streamer-like locks at

¹ Only the right half of the plaque is preserved in the example at Yale; the illustration on our plate is from the perfectly preserved example in Damascus.

² *Rep. II*, Pl. XXXIX, 3, pp. 61 f.

³ *Rep. II*, Frontispiece, and Pl. I, 1.

the sides of the chin are black streaked with maroon, the same color scheme which we have already noted on eyebrows and hair. On top of the head the hair is dressed in two round bunches, but not in the typical Parthian fashion.

The youthful bust (Pl. VI, 2) is not in the center of the plaque, but more to the right, and there are indeterminate black blotches in the upper left field. The upper part of the plaque is missing, so that only the tip of the nose and the mouth, outlined in maroon, are preserved. Below, the bust ends in a broad horizontal line like the painted bust of a man inscribed Κόμοδος.⁴ The figure is heavily outlined in maroon, and the tunic is yellowish with double parallel stripes in maroon on the sleeves and on the border at the neck. When the slab was first found Mr. Little thought he saw a trident or a pelta painted in maroon below the left elbow. It is impossible to name the youth.

Of the pattern representing bunches of grapes only the upper left half of the plaque with one complete bunch and a bit more than half of another are preserved. They are outlined in red on a white ground. As the height of the painted surface is 0.24 m., the original design may have consisted of six clusters.

The plaque with the cluster of three pomegranates, now in Damascus (Pl. VI, 3), is in excellent preservation. The fruit is pale pink, heavily outlined in maroon. The leaves are pale green with black outline; the stems of the leaves are faintly outlined in black. The pomegranates are painted in more than twice their natural size, the largest one measuring 0.17 m. in length, including the flower or calyx-lobe. The design is repeated on a piece of plaster found by Cumont in room C, the pronaos of the temple of Artemis,⁵ where three pomegranates attached to a twig and painted in black and red are arranged exactly as on our slab. The earliest literary reference to a group of three pomegranates is in Eriphus,⁶ a poet of the Middle Comedy of the fourth century B.C., who states that the pomegranate tree was planted by Aphrodite in Cyprus, and in that connection he refers to a group of three pomegranates, evidently based on some picture.⁷ In the late Roman period, however, the symbolic

⁴ *Rep. I*, p. 48, Fig. 22.

⁵ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 175, Fig. 39, described on p. 176.

⁶ In Athenaeus, III, 84, c.

⁷ For the references to the pomegranate in art, see below, p. 50, n. 40. See also the group of three pomegranates painted on glass, published by Rostovtzeff, *Isvestija of the Archaeol. Commission*, 1914, Pl. XII, 1 (lower half).

meaning seems to have been lost and when it occurs on our plaque and on the mural painting in the temple of Artemis it is probably a purely decorative motive, although in the latter case it may have reference to the myth of Nana and the birth of Attis.⁸

The plaque with the fir cones, also in Damascus, is fragmentary, and the surface is much worn. Maximum height of fragment, 0.28 m.; maximum width, 0.32 m. Only one and a half fir cones are depicted; they are crosshatched in black on a yellowish brown ground. The outlines of the cones are in heavier black than the inner hatching. Between them are black stems, but the needles are worn away.

The rose design on a plaque in Damascus is made up of four heart-shaped petals outlined heavily in maroon on a white ground. In this form it already occurs as early as the thirteenth century in Assyria, and at Dura it is also found in the same shape, not only on the fresco of the Tribune, but also on the plaster cornice of Orthonobazus.⁹ Since the wild rose on our plaque is identical in shape with the rose on the cornice of Orthonobazus, and since the cornice can be dated to the beginning of the third century of our era, it is clear that the plaques also belong to the same date.

The fragmentary plaque, badly worn, on which a wreath or garland seems to be depicted represents what may be the upper part of a garland outlined in red against a white ground, and the lower part greenish yellow outlined in black.

The pelta design occurs in three types: in all cases the pattern is practically the same, but the color scheme is different. The pattern consists of four stylized shields of the shape borne by Amazons. They are arranged back to back, and are divided by four stems which radiate

⁸ For the pomegranate as symbolic of fecundity in literature, and especially for the legends regarding the origin of the pomegranate from the blood of Dionysus, Attis, or Agdistis, see Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, I, 384 f. (aphrodisiac effect); II, p. 1529 n. 4, p. 1541 n. 4 (Attis); p. 1413 n. 6 (Dionysus); p. 1536 n. 2 (Nana became pregnant by placing a pomegranate in her bosom and bore Attis); p. 790 n. 2, and p. 1543 (Agdistis), see also p. 790 nn. 3 and 4. For the pomegranate in the cults and myths of Asia Minor, see also Henri Graillet, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux, à Rome et dans l'Empire romain* (Paris, 1912), pp. 20, 120 n. 2, 202-203, 209, 238, 373.

⁹ For the references to the rose design see p. 51 n. 41. The two sets of plaster cornices, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Yale University, are published by Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 226 ff., Pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVII (cornice of Orthonobazus), pp. 238 ff., Pl. LXXXVIII (cornice with Bacchic subjects). I expect to publish these mold-made cornices elsewhere.

from a central circle. At their ends the stems curl outward like tendrils. The first type (Pl. VI, 1), now at Yale, is nearly complete; here the design is painted in heavy maroon on a white ground. The second type, at Damascus, has the design in maroon on a grayish black ground, whereas the third type, also at Yale, has peltae of somewhat different shape with interior crescent-shaped markings. In this type the background of the plaque is black with a white border, 0.035 m. wide. The peltae—two are preserved—are outlined in yellow with white interior, and the central part of each pelta is marked with a yellow crescent. The stems which radiate from the central circle are in yellow. Now since the pelta design occurs in three different color schemes, as we have seen, it is probable that all the other designs were painted in various colors. The pelta design occurs also in China, in the Han period, to decorate the upper surface of the lid of a casket in lacquer work,¹⁰ but the four peltae are somewhat differently arranged, and do not have the radiating stems.

The most interesting of the whole series are the fish design and that of the goat. The plaque with the fish occurs in two color schemes. On the fragment of a plaque at Yale the fish, one swimming to left, the other to right, are painted in black outline on a white slip (Pl. VII, 2). The outline of head, eyes, fins, and tail are in black on pink, and the bodies are crosshatched to indicate the scales just as they are represented in Assyrian art.¹¹ About three-fourths of the plaque is preserved, so that the tail of the upper fish and the head of the lower one are missing. Although this brick, according to Mr. Little's notes, was found in Tower 15 along with another on which the name Babatheumenes is inscribed,¹² it seems quite probable that this fish design also occurred on our wall, especially since the fragment of a fish in another color scheme was found in the House of the Large Atrium. On that example, which is so fragmentary that the lower fish is altogether missing, and only the body of the upper one preserved, the crosshatching of the body is in red. The fish is a well-known *motif* in Christian art, but it also occurs decoratively in Jewish art.¹³ In our last report I have discussed the importance

¹⁰ Fischer, *Die chinesische Malerei der Han-Dynastie* (Berlin, 1931), Fig. 10, and p. 72. This casket belongs to the second half of the first century A.D. Here the pelta pattern is surrounded by human figures.

¹¹ Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, Pl. 43, 1.

¹² See below, pp. 46 f.

¹³ For example, on a Jewish mosaic in the synagogue of Hammâm Lif, see Kohl-Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, p. 201.

of the fish in the cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis,¹⁴ who once was a fish. According to another legend she was born from an egg carried from the Euphrates by fish, and to show her appreciation she requested Zeus to have them placed in the zodiac.¹⁵ It cannot be mere chance that when the fish are represented as a sign of the zodiac they swim in opposite directions just as they do on our plaques. Indeed, I am convinced that the fish sign of the zodiac was intended by the painter of these two bricks.

There are also two types of goat; on the better preserved plaque (Pl. VII, 1) are preserved the head, the forepart of the body, and the forelegs. The body is painted in solid yellow on a white ground, but it is doubly outlined in black and in orange. The horns are outlined in black, and the details, such as eye and musculature, are also in black. On the very fragmentary plaque which depicts the second type, the body of the animal is brown outlined in black. In both types the forelegs project, just as they do in Capricorn. Unfortunately, the back part of the body is not preserved, but I believe that it was in the form of a fish, and that Capricorn, the sign of the zodiac, was meant. It is well known that the signs of the zodiac are a Babylonian invention, and Capricorn, half goat and half fish, is a product of oriental imagination. When Mars is in Capricorn and Venus in Pisces they have their greatest power.¹⁶ Is it possible that the face on one of the bricks is not Flora, but Venus, and that the youthful bust is that of Mars?

It is impossible to fix the order of the bricks, nor do we know the dimensions of the wall space they covered. At any rate it is clear that all the bricks were made in molds 0.41 m. by 0.41 m., and that the whole composition must have given the impression of a huge mosaic or of a rug hung from the wall. The style of the paintings belongs to the beginning of the third century A.D. These plaques are painted in mineral colors difficult to preserve until varnish was applied to hold the tints.

Another terra cotta plaque, 0.41 m. square, but not belonging to the above-mentioned series except for one of the fish types, was found in Tower 15 (Pl. VII, 3). It is now in the Museum of Damascus. As on

¹⁴ *Rep. III*, p. 113 and n. 70.

¹⁵ See Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Dea Syria*, col. 2241, where the references are given.

¹⁶ See the excellent article by Cumont in Daremberg-Saglio-Pottier, *Dict.*, s.v. *zodiacus*, pp. 1047-1048. Raymond Koechlin, *l'Art de l'Islam, la céramique*, Pl. 2, 2A, and p. 19, publishes the fragment of a tile from Algeria, eleventh century A.D., which represents the forepart of a goat. This, too, it seems to me, represents Capricorn.

the other series the plaque is covered with a creamy white slip on which is painted in dark outline a bearded man standing to front in the conventional Parthian fashion.¹⁷ He wears a tunic, but no shoes. In his right hand he holds at arm's length a large vase by its foot, and perhaps a sacred reed in the same hand,¹⁸ unless the reed is growing at his side in the manner of the other reed on his left side. According to Mr. Little the inscription, which is in the upper right corner, reads Babatheumenes:

BABAΘEY | MHN | HC.

As I have not seen this plaque I quote the measurements and color scheme from Mr. Little's notes. The height of the man is 0.265 m., the height of the vase in his right hand is 0.11 m. The hair and eyes are in black, the nose in purple, but the beard is outlined in purple within black. The figure wears a white tunic, reaching to the knees, with two vertical stripes starting from the shoulders. Between these stripes is painted a rectangular object not mentioned by Mr. Little. This may indicate the priestly rank of the man. The left shoulder to the elbow is outlined in gray within black; the girdle is indicated by a black line. According to Mr. Little the man holds a small cup in his left hand. The hand is outlined in purple within black except for the thumb, which is in purple alone. The legs and toes are similarly outlined in purple within black. The vase in the right hand is gray with a black outline. The painter evidently meant to give the impression that the vase was of silver.

A figure holding a vase so conspicuously and surrounded by reeds such as grow on the banks of the Euphrates must have some connection with the River-god. Mesopotamia depends upon her rivers for the fertility of the soil, and so it is only natural that in the ancient Babylonian pantheon many River-gods were worshiped.¹⁹ In the time of Hammurabi, Ea was the god of the greatest water known to the Babylonians;²⁰

¹⁷ He stands in the same attitude, with right foot in side view, and left foot in frontal view, as the third figure from the left on the lower register of Tableau V on the east wall of the pronaos of the temple of the Palmyrene gods, Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. XLVIII.

¹⁸ The drawing is damaged under his right hand. On sacred reeds see Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 67 and n. 3, where he quotes an incantation beginning "O pure reed, holy reed." In the same incantation the tamarisk is also invoked. See also Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 167, for the healing power not only of the water of the Euphrates, but also of the vegetation that surrounds it.

¹⁹ See Jastrow, *Die Religion*, I, 62 f.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

he brings fruitfulness and plenty to the land,²¹ and the sacred water of the Euphrates is invoked in an incantation for the purification of man.²² It seems, therefore, that the large vase held by the man on our plaque contains the sacred water of the Euphrates, and that the reeds which surround him are also sacred. There are plenty of analogies for a River- or Rain-god holding a vase, and in the early Babylonian period water usually spurts from the vase.²³ This is evidently symbolic of sprinkling with water, a rite which plays such an important part in all incantations and purifications, and it is interesting to note that in all lustrations the water of the Euphrates was preferred.²⁴ But the man on our plaque is neither a Rain-god nor a River-god. His garb is that of an ordinary man or perhaps of a priest, and he bears the Syrian name Babatheu-menes. To my mind the plaque depicts a priest either as performing an incantation in time of drought on the banks of the Euphrates, or as making a thank offering to the divine Euphrates in fulfilment of a vow. The reeds show where the scene takes place.

From the above-mentioned analogy on Tableau V in the temple of the Palmyrene gods²⁵ not only for the pose, but also for the stylization of the reeds, it is clear that our plaque belongs to the same period—the beginning of the third century A.D.

How the custom of decorating walls with a veneer arose, and how far the tradition, once established, spread far and wide is made clear by the following rapid survey.

To conceal their drab mud-brick walls the Babylonians invented glazed tiles. The excavations of Koldewey and Wetzel²⁶ at Babylon

²¹ In the Elamite period, the Bull-god is the beneficent rain that refreshes the earth, see our *Rep. III*, p. 112.

²² See Jastrow, *op. cit.*, I, 343.

²³ Adad is depicted on Sumero-Akkadian seal cylinders as a Rain-god holding a vase from which water spouts, see our *Rep. III*, 131 n. 146; on a terra cotta figurine he is represented in the same manner as a Rain-god, see Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, p. 273, Fig. 212; and he occurs, as before, on a kudurru found at Susa, see *Rep. III*, 131 n. 147, cf. also p. 128 for Adad as Rain-god. Andrae, *Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Asurtempels zu Assur* (Leipzig, 1931), Pls. 1–7, has recently published a remarkable relief representing a Mountain-god flanked by Rain-demons who hold vases from which water flows.

²⁴ Jastrow, *op. cit.*, I, 378. For the sacred waters of Syria, their healing power, and the cult of the Euphrates, see Robertson Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 ff.

²⁵ See above, n. 17.

²⁶ Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, pp. 25 ff., 100 ff.; Wetzel, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, pp. 84 ff., 122 ff.

brought to light thousands of fragments of glazed tiles, and the more recent exploration of Warka²⁷ by Jordan has enriched our knowledge considerably of this kind of decorative art. The Babylonian enameled tiles that have come down to us belong to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II (604-561 B.C.), but they are so skilfully made that they must be the result of a long period of development. They are not of terra cotta, as those of Assyrian manufacture, but are made of artificial stone, consisting of lime and sand.

It so happens that we have earlier examples of enameled bricks in Assyria than in Babylon, but there can be no doubt that the Assyrians borrowed the invention from the Babylonians. The chief centers of discovery of glazed bricks in Assyria are: Assur, excavated by Andrae;²⁸ Nineveh and Nimrud, excavated by Layard;²⁹ and Khorsabad, investigated by Place.³⁰

In Assyria glazed bricks were occasionally used to adorn the façades of buildings,³¹ but they were more frequently used for interior decoration.³² In Babylonia, however, glazed tiles were used very frequently as an external decoration, especially in the New Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar II. Because they were made in molds the same decoration occurs time and again. In this rhythmic repetition lies the chief charm of these long friezes of lions, bulls, and dragons which once lined the walls of the Procession street and of the Ishtar Gate. All this can now be visualized in the new State Museum of Berlin, where are also exhibited in restoration the decoration on the walls of the Throne Room.³³ They look

²⁷ Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, pp. 18 f.

²⁸ Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics*, pp. 10 f.

²⁹ Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, pp. 18 f.

³⁰ Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, I, 115 ff., 233 f., 255 ff.

³¹ Perrot-Chipiez, *Chaldea and Assyria*, I, p. 291, Fig. 123; p. 292, Fig. 124 (detail of enameled archivolt at Khorsabad); p. 255, Fig. 106 (battlement of Sargon's palace); Place, *op. cit.*, Pls. 11, 14-17.

³² Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, I, p. 225, Fig. 90 (interior of palace of Sargon at Khorsabad); see also the decorative enamel bricks from Assur of the time of Tiglathpileser I (1120-1100 B.C.), illustrated in color by Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pl. 6, and those from the palace of Tukulti-Enurta II (890-884), *ibid.*, Pls. 7-9. For the representation in colored glazed bricks from the temple of Sargon's citadel at Khorsabad, representing lion, bull, eagle, tree, and plow, see Place, *op. cit.*, Pls. 24, 26-27, 29-31, and Perrot-Chipiez, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XV.

³³ See the guide entitled *Zehn Bilder aus den altorientalischen Sälen des vorderasiatischen Museums zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1930). One of the lions is now in the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University. See especially Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon*, Figs. 16, 26, 30, 31, 64; *idem*, *Ishtar-Tor*, Pls. 10-12, 14-15, 17. For the decora-

like huge tapestries hung on the walls, and that seems to have been the intention of the Babylonian artist.

Also in the Persian period there have been found glazed tiles at Babylon,³⁴ but the finest examples come from the citadel of the Achaemenid kings at Susa, witness the inimitable bodyguard of Darius I (521-485 B.C.).³⁵

In the Mycenaean period the fresco on the floor of the king's megaron at Tiryns³⁶ is arranged in groups of four panels repeated many times. Here, too, the Babylonian tradition survives, and we are reminded of strips of oriental rug or carpet in the geometric, octopus, and dolphin patterns. In Greece, however, where limestone and marble were close at hand, a veneer of glazed bricks was not necessary. And yet, even there, unglazed painted bricks were used architecturally for decorative purposes, especially in the archaic period, as, for example, at Thermos³⁷ where they adorned the metopes of the temple of Apollo, and at Athens where painted bricks were used as metopes to decorate sepulchral buildings.³⁸ In Etruria, also in the archaic period, painted bricks have been found.³⁹

As to the geometric patterns found on Assyrian glazed bricks a glance at Andrae's plates makes it clear that they are limited, and are largely based on weaving and plaiting. They are, therefore, important evidence for the reconstruction of curtains and carpets. Patterns based on plants are limited almost exclusively to the date palm and the pomegranate. The latter, an Assyrian fruit, has a long history as an emblem; it was borrowed by Syrians, Persians, Greeks, Phoenicians, and Christians, and is found in Manchuria, India, Armenia, in Jewish synagogues, and in Turkish mosques.⁴⁰ Under Egyptian influence, in the

tion of the walls of the Throne Room, see also Wetzel, *Die Königsburgen von Babylon*, Pls. 37 and 38 (in color).

³⁴ See Koldewey, *op. cit.*, Fig. 80; Wetzel, *op. cit.*, Pl. 39 (in color). According to Wetzel, pp. 120 ff., they belong to the time of Artaxerxes I (465-425 B.C.)

³⁵ See Dieulafoy, *Suse*, Pl. VII; Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World, the Orient and Greece*, Pls. XXXVI, 3, XLIV; Perrot-Chipiez, *Persia*, p. 141, Fig. 68; cf. Maurice L. Pillet, *Le Palais de Darius I^{er} à Suse*, pp. 73 f., Fig. 24, p. 82, Fig. 26.

³⁶ Rodenwaldt, *Tiryns*, II, Pls. XIX and XXI.

³⁷ *Antike Denkmäler*, II, Pls. 49-52A.

³⁸ Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium, Berlin*, Nos. 1811-1826; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, Fig. 244; *Antike Denkmäler*, II, Pls. 9-11.

³⁹ Swindler, *op. cit.*, Fig. 391 (from Caere).

⁴⁰ The pomegranate first occurs on Assyrian monuments in the thirteenth century, B.C., see Andrae, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5 l. For its later occurrence from the ninth century to the

middle of the second millennium, the lotus first appears. The rose, rosette, or daisy pattern is the most common decoration for borders on Assyrian glazed bricks. Where it originated nobody knows—perhaps its origin is to be sought in the star of Ishtar, but the rosette, like the pomegranate, has a history of several thousand years.⁴¹

Neo-Assyrian period, *ibid.*, Pls. 19, 34. For the pomegranate as a symbol of Assyrian royalty or as an offering to the god Asur, see Perrot-Chipiez, *Chaldaea and Assyria*, I, p. 109, Fig. 29; II, p. 99, Fig. 45; p. 273, Fig. 153. The goddess of fertility on the cliff reliefs at Maltai and Bawian holds a staff out of which pomegranates grow, see Bachmann, *Felsreliefs*, p. 37 and Pl. 12. For a pomegranate tree with fruit and leaves on a Carthaginian stele, see Perrot-Chipiez, *Phoenicia*, II, p. 64, Fig. 59. In the synagogue at Tell Hûm pomegranates and grapes form the chief motives in the panels of the mural frieze, see Kohl and Watzinger, *Antike Synagogen in Galilaea*, p. 185. For tapestries found at Noin Ula, Mongolia, with pomegranate design, see Kozlov, *Comptes rendus des expéditions pour l'exposition du nord de la Mongolie* (Leningrad, 1925), Figs. 7–8. The grapevine and twigs of pomegranate occur on the mural mosaics in the Kubbet-es-Sachra in Jerusalem, see Strzygowski, *Asien*, pp. 215 f. Figs. 210a and 210b. For sprays of pomegranate and grapevine on the exterior friezes of the Armenian church in Zwarthnotz and in Achthamar, see *ibid.*, p. 317, Figs. 322 and 323, also p. 297, Fig. 286. A curious mixture of a grapevine entwining a pomegranate tree is found on a floor mosaic at Madeba, see *ibid.*, p. 318, Fig. 324. Even more remarkable is the tree sculptured in one of the niches of the mosque of Amman, in Moab, which bears alternately grapes and pomegranates, *ibid.*, p. 109, Fig. 100. In the church of Peter and Paul at Jerash a mosaic has sprays of pomegranates in the upper corners, see Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash*, Pl. 12, cf. also Clédât, *Baouît*, Pl. LXXXIII. On a Venetian plaque (Strzygowski, *Asien*, p. 306, Fig. 304) we see on a minor frieze sprays of pomegranates, whereas on the main frieze two peacocks drink the water of immortality from a vase out of which a grapevine grows. Again, one of the pillars in Venice, contains a vine with grapes and pomegranates growing out of a vase, see *ibid.*, p. 319, Fig. 326. Also on the famous silver chalice from Antioch (*ibid.*, p. 320, Fig. 327) occur vase, vine, and pomegranate. For the vine and pomegranate twigs in India, on the northern gate of the stupa at Sanchi, see *ibid.*, p. 313, Fig. 316. Strzygowski, *Armenia*, p. 587, also *Asien*, pp. 485 ff. and *passim*, sees in the vine and pomegranate symbolic Mazdean meaning. On the question of Mazdeism in Dura, see Cumont, *Syria*, XII, 1931, pp. 302 ff. For the union of the vine and pomegranate, an old decorative motive in Syria, see Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 247 f. For the pomegranate among the many fruits in garlands at Pergamon, Magnesia, and Cyme, see Margarete Stephan, *Die griechische Guirlande*, pp. 38 f., 42, 45.

⁴¹In its simplest form with four petals the rose already occurs at Assur, on an enamel pithos, as early as the thirteenth century B.C., see Andrae, *Coloured Ceramics*, p. 9, Fig. 2. In this form it also occurs at Dura, not only in the fresco of the Tribune, now in the Gallery of Fine Arts, Yale University, see Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. I, but also on the plaster cornice of Orthonobazus, as well as on one of the terra cotta plaques discussed above. Even as late as the thirteenth century A.D. in India, the rose with

In the Seleucid period of Warka, Jordan found many glazed bricks which once decorated the new temple of Anu and Antum.⁴²

In India glazed tiles were manufactured in great numbers, and were used for the same purpose as in Babylonia, Assyria, and Persia. At many centers in Sindh and the Punjab they have been found, and it is surprising to find the survival of so many Babylonian and Assyrian patterns, as, for example, rosettes, lotus buds, and lotus flowers.⁴³

That the art of making bricks was known to the Chinese in the Han period (206 B.C.—220 A.D.) is made clear especially through the investigations of Fischer.⁴⁴ So far as we know they were used only for interior decoration of sepulchral monuments, but if private houses of the Han period had survived, I am sure that they would be found also there.

The Babylonian tradition is found in the Christian period even as late as the tenth century, as is evinced by the excavations at Patleina,⁴⁵ in Bulgaria, where glazed bricks and plaques had once decorated the walls and apse of the church and of the principal compartments of the monastery. In this monastery, it is interesting to note, two of the compartments were used as an atelier for the manufacture of these plaques. It seems, therefore, that they were the product of skilled monks. The patterns on the Bulgarian plaques give the effect of rugs hung on the walls. There can be no doubt that mosaics and glazed tiles are a more permanent substitution for tapestries. A good illustration of this are the tiles from the large mosque at Kairuan in northern Africa,⁴⁶ the painted bricks from Dura, and the decorative stone slabs found by the American expedition to Syria.⁴⁷

To sum up. We have traced the influence of Babylonian glazed tiles on Assyria, Greece, Etruria, India, China, Islam, and East Christian centers. It is, therefore, not surprising that the tradition was also found

four petals is found on glazed tiles, and on a lacquered box from Sindh, see Sir George C. M. Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India*, Part II, Pl. 64.

⁴² Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, Pls. 29, 48, 49–52; cf. also pp. 18 f. for a discussion of the location of the enamel friezes.

⁴³ See Birdwood, *op. cit.*, Part II, Pl. 75 (*bis*), and pp. 330 ff., Figs. 1–37.

⁴⁴ Otto Fischer, *Die chinesische Malerei der Han-Dynastie*, Pls. 6–7, 25–27, 59–73. On pp. 135 f. Fischer gives a list of the known bricks and the subjects depicted.

⁴⁵ See J. S. Gospodinow in the *Bulletin of the Bulgarian Archaeological Institute*, IV (1914), 113 ff., Pls. XXIII–XLII; Strzygowski, *Asien*, p. 200, Fig. 195; *Armenia*, pp. 568 f.

⁴⁶ Strzygowski, *Asien*, p. 201, Figs. 196a and 196b.

⁴⁷ See Wulff, *Altchristliche und byzantinische Kunst*, I, 265, Fig. 252.

at Dura. The whole of Asia stood godmother to the artist who fashioned the plaques at Dura.

Voussoirs from the Priests' House (Pl. VIII, 1 and 2).

Of the many fragments of busts in bas-relief on limestone pillars found in the House of the Priests three are fairly well preserved, although in every one the face is badly battered. The busts are carved on the faces of these pillars, which have the following dimensions: 0.22 m. deep, 0.25 m. broad on top, and about 0.22 m. broad at the bottom. Where the busts are cut off below the chest they project 0.03 m. The heads are about 0.07 m. high. In no case can the length of the face of the pillars be determined because all of them are broken off at the bottom. Only one (Pl. VIII, 1) shows traces of the torus molding below the bust. It seems that the head of every bust wears a high cap, perhaps in the manner of the headdress of Cybele. It is not the pointed cap of the priests of Atargatis,⁴⁸ but is much more like the Phrygian cap. The face of the bust which is best preserved (Pl. VIII, 1) is not looking straight forward, but the head is turned slightly to one side. Whether it is male or female is difficult to determine, although I believe it to be female. The figure wears a tight-fitting garment which is arranged below the neck in v-shaped parallel folds, very wooden in their modeling; over the left shoulder hangs a mantle, also of crude parallel folds. Another example (Pl. VIII, 2) wears a garment cut lower at the neck, but also with a similarly arranged mantle over the left shoulder. This bust is certainly female, for she wears a necklace with a disk-shaped pendant. She is looking straight ahead, whereas a third example has the head turned slightly to the right. What purpose did these reliefs serve?

Cumont, in his excavations at Dura, found in the chapel of Aphrodite two Victories also carved on pillars,⁴⁹ but he does not discuss their use in the chapel. That they served the same purpose as our busts is evident. The question raised above regarding their purpose can be answered with certainty when we consider the very close parallels found at Hatra.

In his excavations at Hatra, Andrae found a large series of busts in the archivolts of the entrances leading from the court into the various rooms of the main palace.⁵⁰ Every voussoir of the archivolts over the

⁴⁸ For their garb see *Rep. III*, p. 136 n. 173; Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 59 f.

⁴⁹ *Fouilles*, Pl. LXXXIV, 1-4, and pp. 220 ff.

⁵⁰ For their relative position and distribution see *Hatra*, II, Pl. VIII, upper illustration.

entrances to Halls 1, 4, 7, and 9⁵¹ had been decorated with a bust, except in one case where an altar is represented,⁵² and in another where a horse is sculptured.⁵³ The first voussoir of the archivolt of Hall 1⁵⁴ is almost an exact reproduction of our type, except that the bust is cut off shorter below the shoulders in order to make the head larger. This was necessary because the entrance is very high. From the voussoirs at Hatra it is clear that our stones, all of which are broken away at the bottom, must have continued below the busts to a distance of about half the height of the figured parts. The examples at Hatra also have the same torus immediately below the busts. Where male heads are represented at Hatra they are always bearded. That would be in favor of considering all of our busts to be female, for none is bearded. It is furthermore noteworthy that the folds of the drapery at Hatra are just as wooden as those on our busts.⁵⁵

On the archivolt of the south *liwan* of the main palace at Hatra every fifth voussoir contains a Victory in relief.⁵⁶ These Victories are so closely paralleled with those discovered by Cumont in the chapel of Aphrodite that the latter must have decorated an archivolt over the entrance of the chapel.

The busts from Dura, as has been made clear by the measurements given above, are slightly wedge-shaped, and, judging from the use of the close analogies at Hatra, they too must have decorated the archivolt of the entrance of the building in which they were found. That this doorway to the Priests' House was not so high as those in the façade of the main palace at Hatra is made evident by the facts that our busts are not cut off so closely beneath the shoulders, and that the heads are not so large. It is impossible to know whether every voussoir was decorated with a bust, as in the above-mentioned parallels at Hatra, or whether only every third voussoir had a bust, as on the archivolt of the summer palace at that place.⁵⁷

Hatra is the best preserved example of a Parthian city, and the busts on the voussoirs have all the earmarks of the Parthian style. Andrae

⁵¹ *Hatra*, II, Pls. XIV–XVIII.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV, fourth voussoir. Small portable limestone altars of similar shape have been found at Dura and at Assur. For the latter see Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 154, Fig. 262. Two of those found at Dura are of bronze, the larger measuring 0.06 m. and the smaller only 0.03 m.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XVIII, sixth voussoir.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. XIV.

⁵⁵ See especially the sixth voussoir of the archivolt of Hall 7, *ibid.*, Pl. XVII.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Blatt 49, Fig. 259, and p. 153.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI.

does not attempt to date them accurately, but in one of our voussoirs⁵⁸ the drapery is very similar to that of the bust published in last year's report,⁵⁹ indeed, the folds of the mantle over the left shoulder are identical in both, and therefore we cannot escape the conclusion that both are of the same date, namely, the first half of the third century A.D.

The discovery of these voussoirs with busts in the Priests' House and of those representing Victories in the temple precinct before the chapel of Aphrodite have given us new material for the appearance of the façades of these structures. It would not be difficult for an architect to make a restoration on paper of the curve of the archivolts over the doors leading into these two buildings. Future excavations may inform us that all the entrances to the important chapels and shrines of the temples of Artemis and of Atargatis were constructed on the same principle.

⁵⁸ Our Pl. VIII, 1.

⁵⁹ *Rep. III*, Pl. XVII.

III INSCRIPTIONS

I. THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH

BY S. GOULD¹

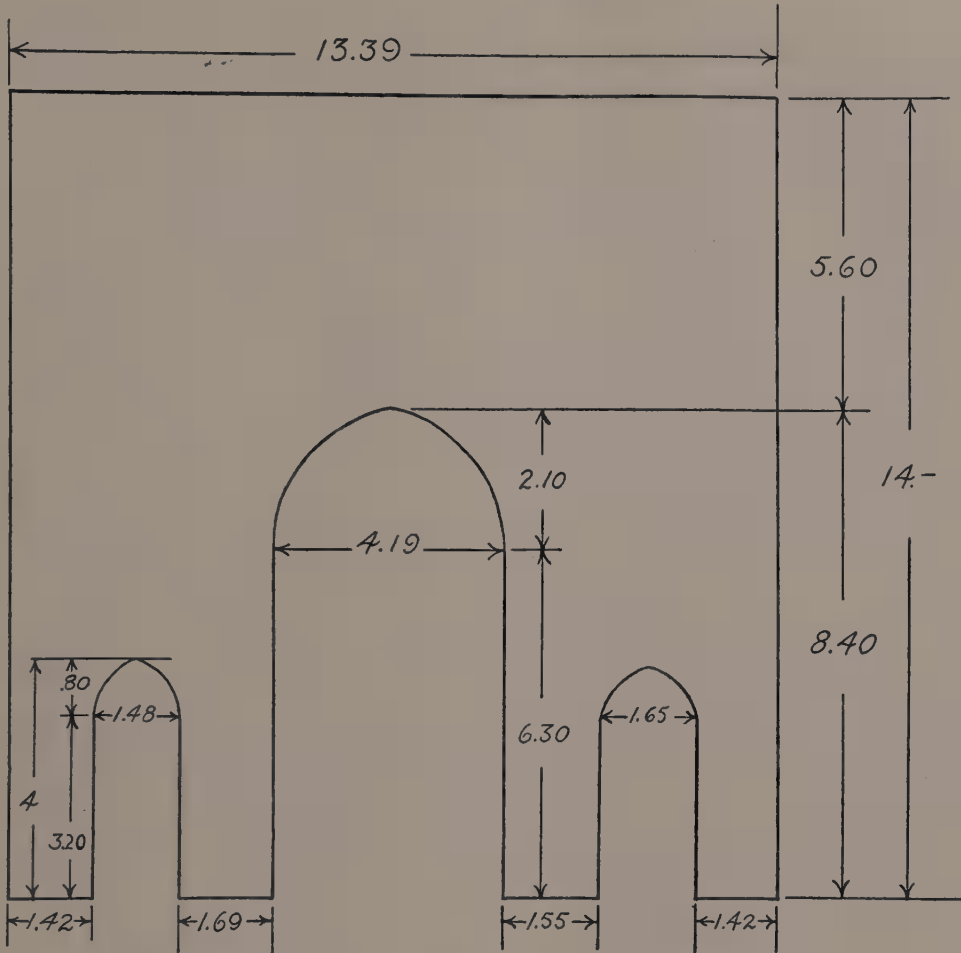
167.² MEASUREMENTS of the ruins which lie one mile outside Dura on the road to Palmyra disclose that they are the remains of a triumphal arch, whose size and probable proportions are indicated in the accompanying sketch. Since only parts of the upright piers are still standing, no trace of the original inscription was found *in situ*, but in the sand below were discovered sixteen fragments (several small fragments which merely corroborate the restorations indicated by the original sixteen were found later). The relative size, the shape, and the lettering of each of these fragments are shown in the accompanying restoration. (See also Pls. XIII, XIV.) The first fifteen fragments were found on the southwest side of the standing piers, the sixteenth on the northeast side. The duplication of lettering on XII and XVI, for example, indicates that we have to deal with a double inscription, and the assignment of various fragments to one side or the other was from the start a difficult task. As far as is known at present it is not possible to make any certain distinction in the lettering on either side, although the southwest inscription seems to show slightly larger and more widely spaced letters and to be cut into stone of a slightly more greenish tinge. In any case the historical information imparted by the inscriptions will not be invalidated by uncertainties of this sort.

A tentative restoration, less complete than the one herewith presented but not differing seriously from it, was made from the original photographs and squeezes, and then was sent to Professor Clark Hopkins for verification and amplification on the ground. Two letters were received in reply.

The first letter in its opening paragraph contained the following de-

¹ The material for this paper was prepared by the members of Professor Rostovtzeff's Seminar for 1931-32, consisting, besides Mr. Gould, of Margaret Crosby, Mary Goggin, R. Boecklin, Robert O. Fink, Aldis B. Hatch, Alan McN. G. Little, and D. E. W. Wormell.

² The numbers of the inscriptions follow the series in *Rep. III*, but the letter *D* is now discarded as no longer necessary.



tailed information. Additional fragments (for all these fragments see Pls. XIII and XIV) of stone V (which along with VII, had been left unconsidered in the original restoration) were found to fit beside stone VIII; then it was also found to be possible (though, from the appear-

IMP CAESAR DIVINERVAE FENERVAE
 TRAIANO OPTAVG GER DAC PONT MAX TR
 POT XX IMP IX COS VI P P L E G I O

ance of the squeezes and photographs, this fact was not at first suspected) that fragment IX could contain F and the first stroke of N, the second stroke of N being on fragment X. In the proposed restoration VIII had already been connected with XI, but Professor Hopkins found that VIII and XI fit perfectly also with VI on the third line; since it was already known that X fitted XII, a combination of fragments VIII, XI, VI, V, IX, X, XII could now be set up with comparative certainty.

Professor Hopkins now turns to notes on the inscription as a whole and proves that it was inscribed on either four or five blocks. Block I consists of stones I, II, and IV (this is proved because IV on its left-hand edge fits I). Block II consists of either XIV or XIII and XV. Though it is difficult to decide which should go on the southwest side, it is at least certain that XIII and XV go together, because if the A in the second line of XIV were made to fit the A in the first line of XIII, the left-hand straight edge of XIV would coincide with the middle of XIII. The argument against putting XIV in the principal or southwest inscription is that seven letters of the first line, namely IMPCAES must then correspond to ten of the second, TRAIANOOPT; but it is to be noticed that in stone I five letters already correspond to four. Against accepting XIII and XV there are two rather more serious objections; considerable wearing away on the left edge of XIII must be assumed to make room for half the O of OPT, and, secondly, since DAC appears, GER almost certainly does also, and room for two G's, the second of which actually appears on stone III, must be found; but if XIII and III are juxtaposed there is not sufficient room on XIII for the two letters VG. Therefore, XIV is almost certainly to be accepted on the southwest side. Block III comprises stone III and enough extra width to contain the letters NER in the first line. The second letter of the second line of stone III looks more like a P than an E, but it is not impossible that it should be an E. Block IV contains in the first row stones VIII, V, IX, in the second row stone XI, and in the third row stone VI. Its left straight edge is shown by VIII and XI and its right straight edge by IX. (It is to be noted that IX fits X, both the edges being straight, so that if there are only four blocks in all, as is possible, IX and X belong to the same block, which would then be very large.) Stone V with its new fragments fits IX perfectly and just touches VIII at one point. IX has on its right-hand side the left-hand *hasta* of an N and on its left-hand side the *hasta* of any letter which has a straight left-hand edge; and V gives the straight left edge of the letter which comes second

before the N, but this last-named letter cannot be an I because too much space is then left between the two *hastae*; or, in other words, the newly discovered fragments of V show certainly that FIL is impossible. Therefore NERVAEFNERVAE must be read and the cross strokes of the E (i.e., before the F) account for just the proper amount of space between the extant *hastae*. In this case the E on V must fit tightly against stone VIII so that there is no gap between the VA and the E, and this fit can just conveniently be made.

We now come to the exceedingly important matter of proving that the title Parthicus cannot have appeared in the inscription. Since VI in the last line fits XI in the second line, the second letter of the word after DAC cannot, on account of that curved part of it which actually appears, be A, and, therefore, PARTH is impossible.

In the third line GIO, the O extending almost to the edge of the block, are certain, and a small stone, not listed or photographed, fits before GIO and shows a *hasta*, undoubtedly of an E.

Block V contains stones X and XII, unless, as we have seen, these are really part of a very large block IV. (According to Professor Hopkins there is no need for a ligature on stone X.)

The northwest inscription offers no difficulties; there is a clear ligature at the end of the second line, the end of the last line is very doubtful.

According to the measurements of Professor Hopkins the widths of the blocks are, respectively, 1.12 m., 0.60 m., 0.84 m., 0.88 m., and 1.10 m., making a total length for the inscription of 4.54 m., a length which accords well with the width of the central arch.

Professor Hopkins' second letter contained only the notice that certain fragments of the letter M in IMP in the last line have been found, but there is nothing adjacent to them on either side.

We turn now to the historical background of the inscription. Trajan left Rome in 113 A.D.,³ probably on October 27⁴ and arrived in Antioch at the beginning of the New Year, perhaps January 7 or 23, 114.⁵ From this date until the time of his death, the chronology of his movements becomes exceedingly difficult. There are three sources which seem to

³ *C.I.L.*, X, 6887, with Paribeni's note, II, 285. Cf. also De la Berge, p. 158, and Henderson, p. 314, n. 4.

⁴ Longden, p. 1, Suid. s.v. εἰσπεποίηθη. Cf. G. Calza, *Boll. d. Assoz. St. Medit.*, 1932, No. 4, p. 29.

⁵ Longden, p. 2, *init.*; Stauffenberg, p. 284, *init.*; Malalas, X, 272, I, *ad fin.*

give conflicting evidence; first, the archaeological remains,⁶ which admittedly prove that Trajan left Rome in 113; second, the account in Dio,⁷ in which the campaigns in Armenia and Mesopotamia seem to have taken place in the same year, namely 114; and, thirdly, the date ascribed by Malalas to the earthquake at Antioch, namely December, 115.⁸ Consequently, two complete systems of chronology have been made out, one, followed by De la Berge, Henderson, and others, according to which the campaign in Armenia took place in 114, Mesopotamia in 115, the earthquake in December, 115, i.e., the date given by Malalas, and the attack on Adiabene and on Ctesiphon, together with the revolt and the siege of Hatra in 116; while the other chronology puts the Armenian and Mesopotamian campaigns together in 114, the earthquake in the early months of 115, the attack on Adiabene and Ctesiphon in 115, and the revolt and the siege of Hatra in 116. This latter view is the one advanced by Longden.

Except for the chronology, we can construct from Dio an account which is consistent, and, disregarding large gaps in our knowledge, fairly clear. Trajan bestowed the vacant throne of Armenia on Axidares, son of Pacorus, the former king of the Parthians; but Osroes, brother and successor of Pacorus, declared his nephew incapable of ruling and installed Parthomasirus, the oldest son of Pacorus. Trajan declared war and arrived at Antioch in 114, where he heard that civil war had broken out among the Parthians, a pretender, Manisarius, fighting against Osroes. Meeting, consequently, with no resistance, Trajan went from Antioch to the Euphrates, thence north to Satala in Armenia, and then to Artaxata. At Elegeia on the way, Parthomasirus met Trajan and begged to have his kingship confirmed; he was, however, killed somewhat mysteriously. Armenia now became a Roman state and Trajan received the title of Optimus in 114. He is next seen in Mesopotamia, either in 115 according to the first chronology, or in 114, according to the second. Batnae, Nisibis, Singara, and Edessa were entered without resistance; Abgarus, ruler of Mesopotamia, and other dynasts submitted, and Mesopotamia also became a Roman province; whereupon Trajan was given the title of Parthicus in 115 or 114, which he did not, however, officially ratify until the capture of Ctesiphon in 116 or 115. Trajan then wintered at Antioch and the earthquake occurred during this winter, 115-16 or 114-15. In the spring of 116 or

⁶ See n. 3.

⁷ Dio, 68, 17 to end.

⁸ Malalas, X, 275, I, *init.*

115, he crossed the Tigris by means of boats built at Nisibis and defeated Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene. This district became the Roman province of Assyria. Trajan's next objective was Ctesiphon; there are two views as to his route thither, first that he himself crossed the desert somewhere just below Nisibis and proceeded with his fleet (a fleet whose existence on the Euphrates is certain)⁹ as far as Babylon, thence back to the point on the river Euphrates opposite Ctesiphon, and then across the desert again to Ctesiphon itself; the second view holds that Trajan himself marched down the Tigris directly to Ctesiphon, while the fleet, acting in conjunction with him, proceeded down the Euphrates to Babylon and then back to the point opposite Ctesiphon from which the ships were dragged across the desert.

The rest of Dio's account, namely, the capture of Ctesiphon, the visit to Charax Spasinu, the revolts, the attack on Hatra, and Trajan's death, need not detain us; for we have seen that our inscription does not contain the title Parthicus, which Trajan officially assumed at the capture of Ctesiphon.

As can be seen from the foregoing account, the only possible occasion for the erection of the triumphal arch at Dura comes in the progress of the fleet, whether accompanied by Trajan or not, and whether in 115 or 116, down the Euphrates.

Reverting to the chronology, I give a summary of the main arguments advanced by Longden for his dating of the earthquake.

1. Malalas' date is discredited because, according to Longden, he gives it as December 13, 115, but, of course, December 13, 115, was not a Sunday but a Thursday.

2. Either Xiphilinus or Malalas must be abandoned, because Xiphilinus says that Pedo¹⁰ was consul when killed by the earthquake, which, since Pedo was cos. ord. for 115¹¹ must therefore have taken place early in 115.

3. Extant inscriptions¹² show that in the two years 114 and 115 Trajan received five, and possibly six, imperial salutations, namely the VIIth to the XIIth, inclusive. Therefore, in 116, he received only one, the XIIIth, or possibly two, XIIth and XIIIth, and in 117 none. Now,

⁹ Xiphilinus speaks of Trajan's plans to convey it to the Tigris according to Dio, 68, 28, *init.*; Arrian also mentions unmistakably the existence of this fleet; note especially Jacoby, IIb, pp. 872 f., fr. 115, 127 *et al.*

¹⁰ Dio, 68, 25, 1.

¹¹ Longden, p. 4; *C.I.L.*, VI, 43.

¹² Longden, p. 5; *C.I.L.*, IX, 5894, X, 6887, XI, 6622, etc.

if the Ctesiphon campaign was delayed until 116, six (or five) salutations must have been won by successes before the earthquake, and, as we have seen, very little fighting occurred then; moreover, surely the events comprised in the capture of Adiabene, and of Ctesiphon, and the crushing of the revolt, deserve by such reckoning many more than one, or possibly two, salutations.

4. According to Xiphilinus,¹³ the title Parthicus was given to Trajan after his capture of Batnae and Nisibis, i.e., during his Mesopotamian campaign, but officially confirmed by him only after the capture of Ctesiphon. If, therefore, the Mesopotamian campaign be placed in 115 and the capture of Ctesiphon in 116, we should expect to find the title Parthicus not at all before 115, sporadically in the latter half of 115 and earlier half of 116, and always after 116; whereas, if the Mesopotamian campaign is placed in 114 and the capture of Ctesiphon in 115, the title Parthicus will occur not at all, or only very rarely before 114, sporadically in 114-15, and always after 115. This latter, Longden shows by abundant examples¹⁴ to be exactly the case; in only one inscription, and that from Upper Egypt, is Parthicus missing after the middle of 115.

5. That Armenia and Mesopotamia were conquered in the same year is made probable by the existence of coins with the reverse legend "Armenia et Mesopotamia in potestatem p. R. redactae,"¹⁵ whereas no coins apparently were struck to celebrate the conquest of Armenia, as would most probably have been done if the first year had closed with this success.

The above are the main arguments advanced by Longden to support his contention that Ctesiphon was captured (and consequently the Dura Arch erected) in 115 rather than 116.

The older writers, De la Berge, etc., accepting Malalas' date for the earthquake had, according to Longden, disregarded Xiphilinus, but Stauffenberg¹⁶ points out that the fact of Pedo's being consul when killed offers no objection—as Longden himself admits—to the date of Malalas; for Pedo, as cos. ord. for 115 could be thought of as one of the consuls for the year, and, if he died in December, 115, might still be described as ὁ ὑπάτος.¹⁷

¹³ Dio, 68, 23, 2.

¹⁴ Longden, p. 6, *init.*; *C.I.L.*, II, 2097, etc.

¹⁵ Longden, Cohen, No. 39 = *R.I.C.*, II, Trajan, No. 642.

¹⁶ Stauffenberg, p. 277.

¹⁷ Longden, p. 4, *ad fin.*

As for the argument of Longden that Malalas discredits himself because he says that December 13, 115, A.D., was a Sunday, Stauffenberg¹⁸ supposes him to be calculating according to the Tyrian calendar, so that "der 13 Apellaios fällt auf den 30 Dezember; nun ist aber der 30 Dezember des Jahres 115, entsprechend der Angabe des Malalas (ἡμέρα α') ein Sonntag, womit die Richtigkeit seiner Datierung erwiesen sein dürfte." Longden is doubtful whether this chronological expedient is permissible and prefers to suppose an ingeniously discovered coincidence; he concludes with the words: "Even if it were to be proved that one of Malalas' two dates was at least consistent with itself, I do not think that the proof of this point could upset the other evidence for the date of the earthquake collected in this article."¹⁹

As for the rest of Longden's arguments, each one in itself offers, of course, merely probability, and many will prefer not to abandon the one definite date our sources supply in connection with the earthquake, namely, that of December 30, 115, of Malalas. This, if we accept it, dates our triumphal arch in 116 A.D.

The arch itself offers some support to Longden's view inasmuch as Professor Hopkins feels fairly confident that the imperial salutation appearing on the stone is IX; it might possibly be XI and this is conceivably in accord with the older view. But the amount of space left for the numeral after TR POT suggests XX rather than XXI; and in the accompanying restoration the numerals have been supplied on the assumption that Longden's chronology is correct and that the arch was erected in 115 A.D.

The other unsettled question is whether Trajan personally accompanied the fleet down the Euphrates. At first sight the passages in Dio seem to support the view; but *a priori* it must be admitted²⁰ that since the emperor's objective was Ctesiphon, which is on the eastern bank of the Tigris, and since he and his army were already east of the upper river, the natural course for Trajan to pursue would be to march straight down the Tigris; yet Henderson goes too far, of course, when he denies entirely the existence of a fleet on the Euphrates; it is attested by both Xiphilinus and Arrian.²¹ But a difficulty arises when Dio says καὶ μέχρι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος αὐτῆς ἐχώρησαν;²² yet there is no indication here that Trajan is present. If Trajan is proceeding down the Tigris and the force

¹⁸ Stauffenberg, p. 277, *init.*

¹⁹ Longden, p. 35, *ad fin.*

²⁰ The arguments here are Henderson's, pp. 327 f.

²¹ See n. 9.

²² Dio, 68, 26.

on the Euphrates is a little in advance of him it is at least understandable that they should proceed as far as Babylon to overcome resistance there or possibly for some other reason, and then return to the point on the Euphrates opposite Ctesiphon. Later Dio²³ tells what Trajan saw in Babylon; but this occurs as part of a general description of the city and may well refer to what Trajan saw during the visit he made to Babylon after the capture of Ctesiphon. Finally, Dio²⁴ does definitely make the statement that Trajan had visited Babylon κατά τε τὴν φήμην καὶ διὰ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, but this statement occurs after the account of the capture of Ctesiphon; and, indeed, after the capture of the stronghold and capital of his enemy, the Parthian king Osroes, would be the only safe and logical time for Trajan to pay homage to Alexander. However, the account of Dio is, of course, consistent with the other interpretation, so that the question whether Trajan was personally present at the erection of this arch must remain undecided.

That a force actually did move down the Euphrates through Dura is made certain by the mention in Arrian of the cities of Phaliga²⁵ and Anatha,²⁶ the one just north and the other south of Dura. One fragment²⁷ also of Arrian says: ὁ δὲ ναυτικός στρατός, ἵνα περ μὴ ἄκρα ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀνέχουσα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπήρτα τὸν πλοῦν τῆς ὁδοῦ, συμπαρέπλει τῇ στρατιᾷ, and, as Professor Rostovtzeff has pointed out, Dura may very well itself be one of these places, since there a large promontory juts out into the Euphrates. Finally, we have a parallel for this course of action in the campaign of Septimius Severus against Ctesiphon in 198 A.D.²⁸

As for the name of the dedicator, so much uncertainty prevails not only as to the legions actually in the East at the time but also to the reading of the last line of the stones, that the effort to restore any definite letters seems to be hopeless.²⁹ What was the immediate reason for the erection of the arch can only be surmised. Probably Dura, being in direct line of communication with Damascus and Palmyra, was an out-

²³ Dio, 68, 27.

²⁴ Dio, 68, 30, 1.

²⁵ Steph. Byz., s.v. Φάλλα.

²⁶ Jacoby, IIb, p. 872, fr. 115.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 873, fr. 127.

²⁸ Dio, 76, 75, 3 and 4.

²⁹ Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, Vol. XXIII, col. 1284, gives full information about the possibilities. The following legions certainly took part in the campaign: IV Scythica (*C.I.L.*, III, 10336), VI Ferrata (*C.I.L.*, X, 5829), X Fretensis (*C.I.L.*, VI, 1838), XVI Flavia (*C.I.L.*, X, 1202), III Cyrenaica (*C.I.L.*, X, 3733); the following may have done so (for the evidence see Ritterling): XV Apollinaris, I Adiutrix, XXX Ulpia, XI Claudia, II Traiana Fortis. See also Paribeni, II, 285, and Chapot, p. 80.

post of the Parthians, and the force descending the Euphrates met here and overcame its first opposition; or perhaps a Roman detachment was left there and erected the arch for Trajan's other successes in the East.

Note on the Restoration.

Except for the uncertainty of one year in the date, this restoration is fairly certain in the main points; but in many relatively unimportant particulars, such as the exact situation of the lost letters, it is, of course, purely *exempli gratia*.

But as can be seen from comparison with Professor Hopkins' letters, there are two rather important points on which the members of Professor Rostovtzeff's seminar have been unable to change their original opinion in spite of his having reexamined the stones. These points are: first, the ligature on stone X which we feel is necessary (otherwise no room can be found for the M of MAX) and of which we believe we can see slight traces on the stone; second, the number and size of the blocks; since we must have room for two O's in TRAIANOOPT (Professor Hopkins' figures seem to leave room for only one), and since stone IV shows a straight right edge, we have made an extra block Ib, and measure as follows: Block I, 0.91 m.; Ib, 0.51 m.; II, 0.60 m.; III, 0.84 m.; IV, 0.74 m.; and V, 1.01 m.

II. NOTE ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE TRIUMPHAL ARCH

BY A. B. HATCH

The ruins of the Triumphal Arch outside the city of Dura have been described by M. Pillet.¹ The question arises as to the similarity of this structure with other such monuments of the Roman Empire. If the arch at Dura follows some definite type, we may suggest a possible reconstruction from the few remains *in situ*.

The early standardization of the basic principle of the Triumphal Arch is generally accepted. The main differences between arches occur in the use of the material, the kind of decoration, the number of passage-ways, and the dimensions of the component parts of the structure. In Europe the Greek order was applied in marble like a mask to the rubble

¹ See above, pp. 3 f.

core. The surface lent itself so readily to the hand of the sculptor that the tendency for decoration increased until the artists achieved such a vulgar display as is found in the Arch of Constantine. On the other hand, in the Near East there is a lack of marble, which could be imported only at a great expenditure of time and money. Consequently, the architects utilized native quarries. The use of local stone leads to a second distinguishing characteristic of Syrian and African arches—that of plainness. When limestone or basalt composes the arch, the possibility of sculpture becomes limited. It is significant that in towns which employ marble, such as Leptis Magna and Tripolis, the arches show a great amount of carved decoration, comparable to the European style. Since, however, there is no trace of true marble among the ruins at Dura, we may say that the arch there is of the plain type with little or no ornamentation.

The monument has the three-passageway form of entrance. Practically all of the dedicatory arches in Syria both outside and inside the cities are of this nature. Town planning in Syria also provided for propylaea or entrances to temple inclosures similar in appearance to the memorial arches.² All these forms undoubtedly have a common prototype in the Assyrian palace front with its high center door flanked by two lower side passageways.³ The Triumphal Arch at Dura is located farther east than any other of its kind in the Roman Empire. At last, after nine centuries, the somewhat plainer child at Dura returns to face its ancient forefather at Khorsabad.⁴

In considering the dimensions of the monument, the topography of the country plays as important a part as the idiosyncrasies of the architect. Unfortunately, as is the case with many arches in Syria and Africa, the attic has disappeared, so that there is no way of giving its exact height; anywhere from 4 m. to 6 m. is possible. With regard to the size of the entrances, the following table furnishes a basis for comparison with other arches:

² Anderson and Spiers, *Arch. of Greece and Rome*, p. 167; De Vogüé, Pl. 28; Schürer, *M.N.D.P.V.* (1900), No. 2; Schumacher, *Zeit. d. Deutsch. Pal. Ver.* (1902), pp. 131 ff.

³ Breasted, *Proc. Amer. Hist. Assn.*, I (1914), 107; Olmstead, *Hist. of Assyria*, pp. 275, 298, 306, 498, 565; F. Oelmann, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, 1922, pp. 148 ff.

⁴ Fletcher, *Hist. of Arch.*, p. 46.

LOCATION	DURA 5) A.	TINGAD 6) A.	BENEVENTUM 7) A.	PETRA 8)	BOSRA		PALMYRA 11)	JERASH 12)	DAMASCUS 13)	MACTAR 14) A.	ROME	
					EAST ARCH 9)	CENTRAL ARCH 10)					SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS 15)	CONSTANTINE 16)
HEIGHT OF CENTRAL ARCH	8.4	6.65	8.5	12.	8.5	8.	13.5	12.	12.	6.	12.	11.4
HEIGHT OF SIDE ARCH	4.	3.50	NONE	8.8	NONE	4.	7.	6.5	6.7	NONE	7.6	7.4
WIDTH OF CENTRAL ARCH	4.19	4.20	5.2	3.3	5.07	6.29	7.63	6.47	6.	4.	6.77	6.58
WIDTH OF SIDE ARCH	1.48 1.65	2.50	NONE	1.8	NONE	3.05	3.74	3.15	3.	NONE	2.96	3.30

A = built under Trajan. Nos. 8-13 located in Syria. All measurements in meters.

From the above table several facts are outstanding: the height of the center arch is, in every case, approximately double that of the side arch; the arches after the time of Trajan are of greater height (12 m.) than those before (8 m.). The side entrances accordingly attain more elevation, although the same proportion is kept as in earlier monuments. The

⁵ Pillet, *op. cit.*

⁶ Gsell, *Mon. Antiq. de l'Algérie*, I, 175.

⁷ Rossini, *Gli. Arch. Ant. Rom.*; Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1865.

⁸ Wiegand, *Wiss. Ver. D. T. Denk.*, III, *Petra*, p. 51.

⁹ H. C. Butler, *Princeton Arch. Ex. to Syria*, Div. 2, A. *Southern Syria*, pp. 243 ff.; Brünnow-Domaszewski, *P.A.*, III, 14.

¹⁰ Butler, *op. cit.*

¹¹ Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra*; Baumeister, *op. cit.*, p. 1865; Wiegand, *Palmyra*, p. 24.

¹² Schumacher, *op. cit.*

¹³ Wiegand, *Wiss. Ver. D. T. Denk.*, IV, *Damask.* (1921), p. 131.

¹⁴ Curtis, *Sup. Papers Amer. Acad. at Rome*, II; Baumeister, *op. cit.*, p. 1860; Cagnat and Chabot, *Manuel d'Arch. R.*, p. 82.

¹⁵ Rossini, *op. cit.*; Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Fletcher, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Curtis, *op. cit.*, p. 80; Rossini, *op. cit.*; Daremberg and Saglio, I, 394.

arch at Dura, dated under Trajan by the inscription, coincides well with other arches of that period in respect to the height of its passageways. The Arch of Titus, about a decade earlier, also has an opening 8.5 m. high.

When we consider the width of the different arches a lack in agreement is noticeable. The same ratio holds everywhere, however, although the measurements of the central arch may vary. The center arch is about twice the width of the side arch. At Dura the ratio of about 2.7:1 is rather curious. The city arch of Dura also has very narrow passageways, with a ratio of 3.8:1.

The measurements for the arch at Petra are taken from the restoration by Wiegand. These are questionable because of the state of the monument, which is nearly a total ruin. The widths are not irregular for a city arch which might be cramped for room by the buildings on either side of the street, but the height seems excessive for the first century of the Empire.

At Bosra there is possibly the nearest approach to the triumphal arch of Dura where the following features of the Hellenistic style must have been present: an isodomous construction, gables, niches and impost molding used for blocking off, and the outer corners of the monument left plain. From the size and type of stone, we may judge that the inscription appeared in the attic. This inscription, cut on each side of the arch, served to remind a traveler approaching or leaving Dura how great a conqueror had passed that way.

III. ALTAR DEDICATED TO ZEUS BETYLOS

BY H. SEYRIG

168. This monument was found in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods. Quadrangular altar, 0.72 m. high by 0.27 m. wide. Acroteria are simply sketched on the summit (Pl. XV, 1). The face bears the following inscription.

Θεῷ πατρώῳ | Διὶ Βετύλῳ | τῶν πρὸς τῷ | Ὀρόντῃ Αὐρ(ήλιος) | Διφιλιανὸς
στρα(τιώτης) | λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυ(θικῆς) Ἀντ(ωνεινιανῆς) | εὐξάμενος |
ἀνέθηκεν.

"To [his] national god Zeus Betylos, [god] of the dwellers along the Orontes, Aurelius Diphilianus, soldier of the 4th Legion Scythica Antoniniana, has dedicated [this altar]."

Letters large and clear of a late type, some of them with a cursive form. The stone cutter, when he lacked space at the end of the lines, cut a small letter or gained space by combining two letters. The reading of the abbreviations is certain except for the last word in line 6, which we read 'ΑΥΤ(ΩΝΕΙΝΙΑΝῆς). It is true that this surname is nowhere attested, so far as we know, for the fourth Scythic legion, but the reading ἄντεν-ξάμενος would have the inconvenience of introducing a neologism difficult to justify. As the *gentilicium* "Aurelius" did not become really common except under Caracalla and as the form of the letters are appropriate for this period, it is probable that the fourth Scythica also received the surname of this prince, which he bestowed, as we know, on several other military units.

Diphilianus, whose national god is a god of the region about the Orontes is evidently a Syrian: his legion, in fact, had been stationed for more than a century and a half in the territory of Antioch where it must have recruited part of its contingent.¹

Zeus Betylos appears here for the first time. *Betylos* is a Greek transcription of the Semitic compound *bethel*, that means *house of El*, and was used in ancient Semitic worship to describe the cult-stone in which El was considered as being present. By and by, the central place given to this object in ritual promoted it to the rank of an independent god, known as the god Bethel, who at last took advantage of his prominent function to supersede and to evict the former and less materially present owner of the cult-place.² Ultimately the word *betylos* became a Greek substantive, and was applied to any baetyl, any stone that seemed to draw supernatural power from the presence of a deity. This substantive βαίτυλος and its derivate βαιτύλιον occur only with late authors,³ none of

¹ Ritterling, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Legio*, cols. 1559 ff.; Rostovtzeff in *Rep. I*, p. 49.

² A comprehensive study of the documents related to the god Bethel has been published recently: Eissfeldt, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXVIII (1930), 1-30. On the psychology of such developments in Semitic cults, see Eduard Meyer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VIII (1931), 10 ff. Subsequently, the name of the god became also the name of the town, by a process that is not unparalleled in Syria: see, for instance, the inscription from Zizeh in Transjordan, mentioning *Zeus who is in Beelfegor*, where it is clear that Beelfegor had been the name of the god before being the name of the town (Jaussen et Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*, II, 234, 650).

³ Βαίτυλος occurs in Hesychius, and in Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 94.203; also *Corpus paroemiogr.*, II, 468; βαιτύλιον in Philo Byblius, *F.H.G.*, III, 568.

whom seems earlier than Philo Byblius, who probably compiled his book about 100 A.D. Zeus Betylos, then, must have had the shape of a baetyl, one of those roughly hewn stones that are not unusually pictured on coins, especially—to mention only towns situated on the banks of the Orontes—in Emesa and in Seleuceia Pieriae.⁴ The gods of both these towns were considered as supreme gods, and therefore assimilated to Zeus, but the god mentioned on the altar from Dura is probably of a character less local, and Diphilianus seems to have understood that all the shapes taken by Zeus in the various towns on the Orontes were but shapes, that should not hide the unity of the god. It is, of course, very probable that other baetyls than those in Emesa and Seleuceia were to be seen in the region of the Orontes, and one of them has actually been discovered on the mound of Qadesh (Laodiceia-ad-Libanum), not very far from Emesa.⁵

An evolution similar to that of the god Bethel is a feature of several other Semitic cults. In the mountains to the west of Aleppo—not far from the valley of the Orontes where Zeus Betylōs was worshiped—two high-places were devoted, respectively, to Zeus Bomos and Zeus Madbachos, the former of these epithets being the Greek translation, the latter the Greek transcription, of a Semitic word for *altar*: it seems clear that the altar in these cases was first dedicated to some other and less consistent deity, which it finally replaced in worship.⁶ A Phoenician inscription from Laodiceia in Canaan, near Tyre, shows that the god Milkashtart was conceived there as dwelling in a cult-stone or *chammân*, which was considered itself as the property of another god subordinate to the first, and whom the text calls *baal-chammân*, the *Lord of the cult-stone*: in this instance the evolution is not completed as in the cases of the god Bethel or Zeus Bomos, but the cult-stone, not yet an independent deity, has already given rise to an independent god.⁷

In the case of Zeus Betylos of the Orontes, we can safely assume that

⁴ *B.M.C., Galatia, etc.*, Pls. 27–28 (Emesa); 32 (Seleuceia); also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 928. The “black stone” of Emesa, that was brought to Rome by the Emperor Elagabalus, is also pictured on an interesting Corinthian capital from Rome: Studniczka, *Römische Mitteilungen*, XVI, 273, and on several Roman or municipal coins.

⁵ Pézard, *Qadesh*, Pl. 29, Fig. 1.

⁶ Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscr. (American Exped. to Syria, 1899–1900)*, Nos. 48, 100–108. Cf. Porphyry. *De abstin.*, II, 56: Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ’ ἔτος ἑκάστον ἔθουσιν παῖδα, ὃν ὑπὸ βωμῶν ἔθαπτον ᾧ χρώνται ὡς ξόανον.

⁷ Eduard Meyer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VIII (1931), 8 ff.

the god was worshiped by the natives long before the arrival of the Greek settlers. But the question is whether we should understand the word *betylos* that is appended to the name of Zeus, as the mere substantive βαίτυλος, that was certainly quite independent of any god Bethel at the time when our inscription was cut, and would imply nothing more than the fact that the supreme god was worshiped under the shape of a stone, of a baetyl; or whether we should suppose that the god had of old been known by some Semitic name of the kind of Bethel, to which the name of Zeus would have been appended by the Greeks in order to express his supremacy. The question is an important one for the history of North Syrian cults, but it seems unsafe to answer it in the present state of our knowledge. The latter opinion would, of course, be supported by those scholars who think that all the widespread evidence of the cult of the god Bethel is ultimately derived from one source, the well-known cult in the town of Bethel in Palestine, whence the god is supposed to have moved with Palestinian worshippers to Phoenicia and northern Syria.⁸ And in old times, indeed, Phoenician influence is felt as far as Sinjirli,⁹ while the case of Zeus Bomos also proves that the evolution of some cults at least, in northern Syria, closely resembles that of the cult of Bethel. But it may be argued, also, that Betylos is mentioned only twice in inscriptions from northern Syria, once on our altar from Dura, and once in a dedication from Kafr-Nebo (near Aleppo), where we learn of a triad consisting of Seimios, Symbetylos, and Leon.¹⁰ Both these texts are dated as late as the beginning of the third century A.D., and in both, Betylos could easily be interpreted as a substantive. It is better, therefore, to wait until further evidence allows a more definite answer, and we must be contented with putting clearly the terms of the problem.

⁸ Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*

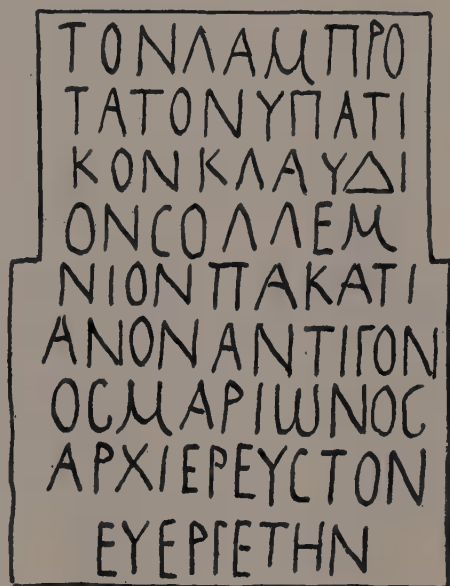
⁹ *E.g.*, in the cult of El (whose importance in the Phoenician theogony is now clear from the Ras Shamra tablets) and Baal-chammân, as well as in the use of Phoenician script: see Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II, 2, pp. 427 ff.

¹⁰ Chapot, *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XXVI (1902), 182; cf. Prentice, *Inscriptions in Northern Syria (Princeton Exped.)*, p. 1170. The name of Symbetylos is often interpreted as transcribing the Semitic *'shm-be'el* of the Elephantine Papyri (*e.g.*, Eissfeldt, *loc. cit.*, p. 22), but the interpretation by Greek etymology (σύν-βαίτυλος = baetyl-companion) is quite as probable: Eduard Meyer, *Papyrusfund von Elephantine*, p. 58, n. 2.

IV. GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

BY A. McN. G. LITTLE AND H. T. ROWELL

169. Four fragments of gypseous stone found on the western side of the city arch in the roadway directly opposite the central arch (Pl. XV, 2). Two of the stones are complete, though badly weathered, the surface measuring 0.0545 m. by 0.162 m. and 0.55 m. by 0.153 m.; the other two are broken on the left, measuring 0.365 m. by 0.75 m. and 0.40 m. by 0.172 m. Height of letters, 0.07 m.



[ΤΟΝ] ΛΑΜΠΡΟ
[ΤΑ] ΤΟΝ ΥΠΑΤΙ
[ΚΟΝ ΚΛΑΥΔΙ]
[ΟΝ ΣΟΛΛΕΜ]
5 ΝΙΟΝ ΠΑΚΑΤΙ
ΑΝΟΝ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝ
ΟΣ ΜΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΟΝ
[ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ]

Restoration.

The surviving four stones form part of a dedication originally consisting of five superimposed blocks, each, with the probable exception of the last, containing two lines of writing. The measurements of stone I are given by the incomplete *Λαμπρο* of the first line, and the incomplete *τον* of the second, which, filled in to complete *Λαμπρότατον* gives an approximate 0.48 m. to 0.50 m. for the complete stone, the complementary letters *τα* in the second line, being balanced by *το* in the first. This stone is thus some 0.05 m. or 0.06 m. smaller than the other two. From this difference in the length of the stones it must be inferred that they origi-

nally formed the face of a structure which served to bind them together. The base of just such a structure 1 m. square, and nearly level with the central passageway, is to be found on the left of the central arch. It is probably to this that the stones originally belonged, projecting above the ground to a height of at least 0.9 m. and forming the base of the statue of Pacatianus, or the front of an altar. Stone II has been almost completely restored from the termination of ὑπατικός and the full name of Pacatianus which occurs *C.I.L.*, III, 94, Claudius Sollemnius Pacatianus. It must be noted that the nine or ten letters of the first stone are followed by an average of ten or eleven letters per line on the larger stone. For stone II the three remaining letters of ὑπατικόν and the fourteen of Κλάυδιον Σολλεμ give a distribution of nine letters for one line and eight for the other, thus making up an inscription of two smaller stones and three larger. Stone V has been restored in accordance with the usual formula.

5 and 6. Πακατιανόν. The name occurs in an honorific inscription of *C.I.L.*, 394, at Bostra, dedicated by Flavius Severus, optio of the Legio III Cyrenaica Severiana Alexandriana to Pacatianus as Legatus propraetore in the Province of Arabia and to Marinus, his son, the future rival in 249 A.D. of the two Phillips. The two legions which have appeared in Dura are the Legio IV Scythica (cf. *Rep. I*, p. 49, Inscription 4; *Rep. II*, p. 83, Inscription H. 1; and in the present report, Inscription 168) and Legio III Cyrenaica (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 3), the former stationed in Syria, the latter in Arabia. The third Cyrenaica made its appearance in Syria in the Parthian War of Caracalla (cf. Ritterling in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enc.*, s.v. *Legio*), again in the expedition of Severus Alexander, and again under Valerian and Gallienus. In view of the title Alexandriana which is supplied as necessary to fill a lacuna in the Bostra inscription (cf. Brünnow and Domaszewski, III, 292), it is to the campaign of Alexander of 231 that our inscription must be referred, a period when the city, already increasing in military importance in the time of Caracalla, was made the headquarters for the Euphrates movements of the Roman army and was heavily reinforced against the approach of the victorious Sassanians.

6 and 7. Ἀντίγονος. This name has been restored by careful comparison with the ends of the letters visible on the stone. A Macedonian name, it occurs in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Parchment I, l. 8, and perhaps in Inscription 56 of the same work on a plaque found in the shrine of Aphrodite in the temple of Artemis.

7. Μαρίωνος. The name occurs in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 69, where Marion is the foster father of Apollophanes, the son of Lysanias, a member of the family of Lysias, the hereditary governors of the city (cf. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, Pl. II and Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 52, found in the entrance to the temple of Artemis).

8. ἀρχιερεὺς. For a similar dedication at Palmyra cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, II, 3, No. 3970, dated 203 A.D., where the Emperor Septimius Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, and Geta are honored by

Σά[λμης Μα]λίου τ[οῦ Βω]λιάδου
ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ συ[μποσία]ρχος ἱερέων μεγίστου
Θεοῦ Διὸς Βῆ[] [λου]

In view of the fact that Salmes makes the dedication as chief priest of Palmyra's chief deity and that Antigonos is connected with the family of Lysias commemorated in the temple of Artemis, it seems probable that he is the chief priest of Artemis Nanaia, whose temple precinct was used by the Romans for a municipal center (cf. *Rep. III*, p. 32). It is less probable that he is chief priest of the cult of the emperor (cf. the many inscriptions under ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν in the index of *I.G. R.R.*).

9. Εὐεργέτην. An alternative reading of Σωτήρα instead of Εὐεργέτην is suggested, in view of the imminence of the Persians from whose attacks Pacatianus may have been the city's chief deliverer.

170. Square altar of gypsum covered with plaster. This altar, together with another whose inscription had been hammered out, and a large mortar for offerings was found on the left-hand side of the south wall of the Palmyrene Gate, covered over with rubble as a means of protection. The greater part of its plaster surface, surmounted by a solar disk outlined in red, broke into fragments. Height of the letters, 0.033 m., with the exception of the surviving E, which is 0.04 m. The letters are painted red.

E

ΩZAM

TON Β]ΩΜΟΝ ΕΠΟΙ [ΗΞΕ]

2. . . . ΩZAM. Perhaps the Semitic name of the dedicator.

3. ἐποι. The word ἐποίησε may have been completed below on the ledge of the altar as on the altar to Commodus found under the same circum-

stances in the main gate (cf. *Rep. I*, p. 42). The termination may have been painted here or on the invisible side of the altar.

171. Found on one of two fragments of a gypseous half-column near the central passage of the city arch. Height of the fragments, 0.49 m. and 0.58 m. Though no inscription was found on the smaller fragment, the missing portion of the Emperor's name must have occurred on it, as the surviving lettering is found along the top of the larger fragment, and was presumably the continuation below of an inscription beginning on the stone above. The curved surface of the column is very badly worn and destroyed at the sides. Height of the letters approximately 0.06 m.

ANT]ΩNINOC CEBACT[OC]

The sequence of titles Antoninus Augustus occurs only for Caracalla and Elagabalus. In view of the dedicatory inscription to Caracalla and Geta found in 1931-32 in the Praetorium, it seems likely that the present inscription refers to Caracalla and that it stood on one side of the central passage against the wall of the arch. Such semi-engaged columns have already occurred with inscriptions in the entrance to the temple of Artemis (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 52). It may have been either a personal dedication of the emperor, an offering of the municipality, or a dedication of a private citizen similar to that of Antigonos in No. 169.

It is strange, however, that no certain trace of inscription has been found upon the lower surface of the stone. If, then, there was no continuation of the inscription, it stands without parallels.

172. Tower 12 *ter*. On a stone block in the sixth course from the top of the inner surface of the west wall. Length, 0.62 m.; height, 0.35 m.; height of letters uneven, 0.03 m. to 0.08 m. Found April 1, 1930, at the end of the preceding campaign. M is written Π. The stone is badly weathered.

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ ΜΙΚ
ΚΑΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕ
ΜΙΔΩΡΟΥ

1. Ἀρτεμίδωρος. A familiar name at Dura (see indices to Cumont and *Rep. II*).

1, 2. Μικκάλου. New at Dura. The name was first read with a final *c* instead of *υ*, but since the nominative would be most unusual here and

the reading is uncertain at best due to the bad condition of the stone, the normal genitive ending has been substituted. The name occurs frequently in Egyptian documents (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*), but rarely elsewhere (*I.G.R.R.*, I, 705, from Thrace and III, 1480, from Galatia).

173. Tower 15. On a stone block in the fourth course from the top of the inner surface of the east wall. Length, 0.47 m.; height of letters uneven, 0.08 m. to 0.09 m. Found November 27.

BAPNAIO[C]

Βαρναῖο[ς] occurs elsewhere at Dura (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscriptions 121 and 127, with the note on l. 9 of the latter. Also, *Rep. II*, D. 3).

174. Tower 12 *quater*. On a stone block in the sixth course from the top of the inner surface of the west wall. Length, 0.49 m.; height of letters uneven, 0.05 m. to 0.11 m. Found December 6.

ΒΕΙΡΑΙΟ[C]

Βειραῖο[ς]. New at Dura. The first letter might be a Θ but “Βειραῖος (probably not Θειραῖος) is the Semitic name פִּירִי. Cf. Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, 1897” (Kraeling).

175. Palmyrene Gate. On a stone block in the sixth course below the beginning of the entrance arch of the north wall. Covered by an altar until date of discovery. Length of first line, 0.30 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. to 0.025 m. Length of second line, 0.33 m.; height of letters, 0.0125 m. to 0.04 m. Length of third line, 0.21 m.; height of letters, 0.0125 m. to 0.035 m. Found February 3.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟC

ΑΡΙCΤΟΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟ[Υ]

1. Ἀπολλωνῖος. The name occurs very frequently at Dura (see indices to Cumont and *Rep. II*).

2. Ἀριστόνου. New at Dura. Occurs as a Macedonian name (see Pape, *Eigennamen*) and in *O.G.I.S.*, 51, from Egypt.

176. On the stone jamb of the walled-up doorway of the building facing the desert to the right of the Palmyrene Gate. Length, 0.46 m.;

average height of letters, 0.02 m. Found December 10. (The graffito Μν[ησθῆ] 'Ἀδδαῖος ΔΙΦ' first published in *Rep. III*, p. 37, is scratched between ll. 2 and 3 of this inscription directly below the τοῦ.)

MNHCΘH ΔIOCKOPIΔ[H]
C KPATEOY TOY AΠOΛ[A]
WNIOY ^NM OBOΔ[A]Δ[A]
ΔOC]

1. μνησθῆ. Very common at Dura especially in inscriptions from the Palmyrene Gate. For a discussion of this formula and its various forms see *Rep. II*, pp. 96 ff. The abbreviation in l. 3 is equally common.

1. Διοσκορίδ[η]ς. New at Dura. It appears in Egyptian documents (see Preisigke, *Namenbuch*), in two inscriptions from Cnidos (*O.G. I.S.*, 79 and 80), and as Διοσκουρίδης in *I.G.R.R.*, II, 229, 603, 836, 1308; III, 916 (from Cilicia).

2. Κρατέου. The name is found elsewhere at Dura (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 104, where it is cited as Macedonian).

2. 'Απολ[λ]ωνίου. See No. 175, l. 1.

3. Οβοδ[α]δ[αδος]. In a parchment from Dura (Cumont, *Fouilles*, No. III, 5 and 9), we find the name Οβαάδαδος, which is possibly a transcription of עבד-הדר, OBΔAΔAΔOS (see Wuthnow, *Semitischen Menschennamen*, p. 85). This may be another transcription of the name.

177. Tower 12 *quater*. On a stone block in the fifth course of the inner surface of the west wall. Length, 0.90 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m. to 0.10 m. Found December 6.

ZABAΔATHC

The name is new at Dura. "Cf. 'ונדעת', 'Atha gave,' *Repertoire d'Épigraphie Semitique*, 515, 3 and 'ונדעתה', Vogüé (63, 1, *et al*) and 'ונדעתא' Vogüé 5, 6. (Palmyra). Cf. Lidzbarski, *Eph.*, III, 347, and Noth, *Die Israelitischen Personennamen*, p. 46, 1928" (Kraeling).

178. Tower 16. On two contiguous stone blocks which form part of the southeast inner corner. In the fifth course above the base of the wall. Found December 24.

A. Length, 0.44 m.; height of letters, 0.07 m. to 0.10 m.

NABOYC

"The deity Nabu, נְבֻ" (Kraeling). Appears elsewhere at Dura in compound proper names such as Ναβούμαρι (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 44); Ναβουιάβος (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 56); Ναβουμάλαχος (*Rep. II*, D. 32); Ναβούχληλος (below, No. 191).

B. Length, 0.62 m.; height of letters, 0.055 m. to 0.11 m.

ZEBINMAOC

New at Dura. "זְבִין-מָא. 'Bought of Ma.' Names with זְבִין are common. Cf. Noth, *op. cit.*, p. 231 f. and the reference under item, 417 on p. 241 to Babylonian texts" (Kraeling).

179. Palmyrene Gate. On a stone block in the fifth course below the beginning of the entrance arch of the north wall. Covered by a stone altar until date of discovery. Length, 0.40 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m. Found February 4.

ANTIOXOC

Ἀντίοχος. The name occurs frequently at Dura (see indices to Cumont and *Rep. II*).

180. Baths southeast of the Palmyrene Gate. In mosaics forming part of the floor of the vestibule. Inclosed within a *tabula ansata*. Height of letters, 0.07 m. to 0.08 m.

ΜΕΓΑΛΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΤΟΥ ΒΑΛΑΝΙ
ΟΥ

Although the Τύχη of a city occurs frequently in Greek inscriptions throughout the Graeco-Roman world (at Dura, Τύχη Παλμύρων, Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 8c, and Τύχη Δούρας, Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 8c; *Rep. I*, C. 3; *Rep. II*, D. 41 and D. 42), this is the first example of the Τύχη of a public or private edifice. What we have here, however, is the Greek translation of a Roman dedication. In three Latin inscriptions, Dessau, 3719, 2605, and 3702, mention is made, respectively, of a Fortuna Balnearis, a dea Fortuna sancta Balnearis redux, and a Fortunae bal(nei) Verul(ani). Now the baths which contain this inscription are a Roman building and those who supervised its erection would normally have been members of the Roman forces of occupation. Accordingly, they would have dedicated the building to the appropriate

Roman deity, the *Fortunae Balnei*, in Greek, the common language of the town.

Βαλανίου. 1 for εἰ.

V. GRAFFITI

BY C. B. WELLES

*The House of Nebuchelus.*¹

A. THE HOUSE

The House of Nebuchelus, or the House of the Archives,² stood in the center of Dura, at the northeast corner of the intersection of the *decumanus* (running east from the Palmyrene Gate) and the *cardo maximus*; immediately adjacent was the City Arch (p. 34). Except for a few rooms in the rear it was entirely excavated in March, 1931; these (Pl. XVI, 1, rooms 2-4, 15-20) were cleared in the fall of the same year, and it is possible now to publish the complete plan (Pl. XVI, 1).

This follows the usual pattern of Dura houses. The frontage on both streets is given over to shops of which those on the *decumanus* were sheltered by an arcade. All, except the easternmost two on the *decumanus* (Nos. 8 and 9), were built without substructions. Due to the sharp slope of the land down toward the edge of the plateau, these, on the same level as the rest, were higher above the ground, and beneath them were cleared subterranean rooms, entered by descending flights of steps from the interior court (1). The original floors of these two shops are gone, but there remain in the walls (here two stories high) the sockets into which fitted the supporting timbers.

The house proper consisted of a set of rooms around a central court. The entrance is by way of a vestibule (7), turning left (6) at an angle of 90°. One passes first the doors of the two subterranean rooms (8, 9) which were fitted with bins or tables; they were either store- or work-

¹ Cf. "La 'Maison des Archives' à Doura-Europos," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (Paris, 1931), pp. 162-188. This article will be referred to below as *Comptes rendus*, by page or by the number of a text there published.

² Its proper designation is B' 8 h. This type of reference, used below where possible to designate buildings, is that employed in the plan of the city, to be published in a subsequent report. The arrangement of sections, designated by capital letters, and of blocks, designated by the numbers immediately following, is shown on Pl. V. The small letter refers to the individual house, and any following number to a room. Cf. for the House of Nebuchelus, Pl. XVI, 1.

rooms. Beyond the second door is a small niche (see No. 195). At the right is the base of a column which supported a gallery. Just beyond is the flight of stairs (10, 11) which led to the upper story; they must have connected immediately with an end of the gallery, as in many modern houses in the Near East. At the north of the court is the usual reception room or *liwan* (2). On either side are pairs of rooms (4/5, 12/13) of which two (4, 13) are accessible only through the others, though they may formerly have been connected with the *liwan* through doors now blocked up.

The house was substantially built. The walls, remaining to an average height of one story, are of stone and plaster, strong enough to support the weight of one or more floors above. Only a few partition walls, like that at the south of room 12, are of mud brick. This cheap material evidently was used for the walls of the upper part of the original building; earth from these bricks formed much of the fill.³ At one time the house was swept by a fire which left a stratum of charred wood in the vestibule, court, and east room (5). In the vestibule this stratum formed a subsequent floor level, if one may judge by the height of the graffiti on its walls. They average over 1.80 m. from the original floor level—an inconvenient height for writing. The east room seems never to have been reclaimed. Traces of char occurred there to a height of one meter on the walls. There also was found much refuse, drums of the column in the court and of a smaller column of uncertain provenience, squared stones, the blade of a sword. The rest of the house was either unaffected by the fire or completely rebuilt. To such a reconstruction might be assigned the blocking up of the doorways east and west of the *liwan*, if in fact they were closed by blocking.

The east and west rooms (5, 12) were the centers of the activity of the house, and from them come the greater part of the graffiti. Their walls were for the most part well preserved; only the plaster on the south wall of room 5 was partly broken away. That room, though the larger of the two, contained fewer texts and is otherwise less interesting. On the east wall, toward the north, there remained *in situ* two meters of molding, and on the floor, by the door into the court, there was a square, shallow, concrete basin, such as might be used for standing jars of water or of wine. The west room (12) is the room of the archives. Its most prominent feature is, at the southwest corner, a cabinet of rather elaborate design (Pl. XVI, 2), probably used for the storing of manuscript records.

³ Cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 241.

In addition there are two other cabinets, smaller and without shelves and partitions, one each in the north and east walls. A lamp recess is built in the east wall, immediately to the south of the door leading into the court. Along the south and west walls run lines of holes into which pegs fitted, perhaps originally designed for the support of shelves, but as graffiti occur on the south wall at the same height, shelves cannot always have been in position. The row of holes on the west wall and the higher of the two on the south are two meters above the floor; the lower one on the latter wall is at a height of 1.55 m. In general, the graffiti of this room tend to concentrate toward the southwest corner, where is the cabinet and where in all probability was the customary station of the owner.

B. THE TEXTS

181. In the *decumanus*, on the west side of the fourth pillar east of the arch. Height above road, 1.20 m., above column base, 0.90 m.; length, 0.30 m.; height of letters, 0.08 m.

Δούραν

The town name in the accusative case; the purpose of the inscription is not clear, though it was well situated to appraise travelers of the town's name.

182. On the panel between the street doors of shops 8 and 9. Height above road, 1.36 m.; length, 0.20 m.; height of letters, 10 mm. to (on the right) 15 mm.

Ξανδικοῦ

The same month as in No. 233. Cf. p. 112.

Traces of writing occur elsewhere on the panel, and on the threshold leading to shop 8, but nothing remains legible but an occasional letter.

183. On the east wall of the vestibule (7), near the street door. Height above floor, 1.38 m.; length, 0.19 m.; height, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 5 mm.

· · ·
· θιθθ ·

[] εδραι ε εισεαν.

A text of unknown character.

184. Immediately to the north. Height above floor, 1.30 m.; length, 0.20 m.; height, 0.135 m.; height of letters, 8 mm. At Yale.

This is a very interesting text in nine lines, of which the character is uncertain. The surface was badly eroded in the center, and the letters were lightly cut. It is possible at present to recognize only a few phrases: Ἀθηναίων βουλ[ή] (l. 1); Δημοσθέν[ης] (l. 5); Δημοσθένης (l. 6). It should, however, be possible ultimately to recover the rest.

185. Immediately to the north. Height above floor, 1.55 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

κε . . ινατηρος

Perhaps κέ = καί and a name.

186. Above. Height above floor, 1.69 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 13 mm.

ΓΑΔΔ . . . BEI Δ . . .
ΔΑΛ EI

Perhaps names.

187. Same wall, south of niche. Height above floor, 1.60 m.; length, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.03 m.

ρλδ'

That is, the number 134.

188. Same wall, on the springing of the arch of doorway leading into corridor 6. Height above floor, 1.96 m.; length, 36 mm.; height of letters, 0.04 m.

ξβ'

The number 62.

189. On the west wall of the vestibule, approximately 0.50 m. from the street door. Height above floor, 1.85 m.; length, 0.01 m.; height, 25 mm.

μν(ησθῆ)

The name of the subject was not added.

190. Same wall, 0.48 m. to the north. Height above floor, 1.87 m.; length, 0.41 m.; height, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.03–0.07 m.

μν(ησθῆ) Αἰράνης Μαλῆ ἱππεύς
η(?) κὲ Παλμ(υρηνός)

This individual, otherwise unknown, would have been a member of the twentieth Cohort of mounted Palmyrene archers who in the year 230 dedicated a tablet to Severus Alexander.⁴

191. Same wall, 0.23 m. to the north. Height above floor, 1.88 m.; length, 0.25 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m. *Comptes rendus*, 18.⁵

ΝΑΒΟΧΗΛΟΣ ΗΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΧΗΝΟΥ
 ΗΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
 ΑΡΟΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ (?)

μν(ησθη) 'Αβδοχῆλος Ναβουχήλου
 μν(ησθη) 'Αλέξανδρος 'Απολλωνίου
 μ(νησθη) 'Αρόμανδρος (?)

For the first two persons, see below, p. 138.⁶ The third name, Aromandrus, is otherwise unknown, and the reading must be regarded as conjectural. It is almost possible to read the last seven letters as Μακεδών.

192. Same wall, 0.23 m. to the north (1.05 m. south of door arch). Height above floor, 1.85 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height of letters, 17 mm.

μ[ν](ησθη) Μαθθανά[θ]

⁴ Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 357 f., Inscription 3; *Rep. I*, pp. 52–54. The cohort is known also from papyri found at Dura early in 1932.

⁵ This facsimile, as Nos. 236 and 237, and all after No. 273 except Nos. 294, 295, and 300, was made by inking in a tracing taken from the wall at Dura. The other facsimiles were made by inking photographs taken, some (Nos. 198–203, 206–209, 211–213) at Dura, the others at Yale. There is a certain subjectivity inherent in all of them.

⁶ The name Nebuchelus is otherwise unknown, but there are many personal names at Dura based on the Babylonian god-name Nebu; the meaning is "Nebu is mighty." Abdochelus is also new, and is a rather illogical combination of *Abd*, "servant," and *chel*, "might" or "mighty." Alexander is a name common at Dura (cf. No. 298) but there is no evidence to link this individual with any of the others known.

Maththanath may be the same man as the dedicant in the temple of Artemis Nanaea, Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 411 f.; the name is discussed *ad loc.*

193. Same wall, on the door post opposite No. 188. Height above floor, 1.48 m.; length, 0.41 m.; height of letters, 0.03–0.05 m. (of ρ, ψ, and the last α, 0.06–0.09 m.).

μν(ησθῆ) ὁ γράψας

For the formula, cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 395, and No. 220, below.

194. On the south wall of the passage 6, east of door to cellar 8. Height above floor, 1.88 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height of letters, 25–40 mm.

BOYZIOS (or BOPZPIOS)

195. Same wall, west of door to cellar 9. Above niche (p. 80), inclosed in a *tabula ansata*. Length, 0.06 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 8–12 mm.

Αὐρήλιο[ς 'Αν-]
[τ]ωνεῖν[ος]

The Roman name of a person enfranchised by the Edict of Caracalla;⁷ the combination occurs often at Dura; cf. No. 233, below.

196. Cellar 8. East wall. In large sprawling letters, approximately 0.50 m. above table and 0.50 m. long. Height of letters, 0.02–0.03 m. *Comptes rendus*, 17.

μνησθῆ [Ἀλ]έξ[αν]δρο[ς] Ἀπολλονίου

This is the same person as the Alexander, son of Apollonius, of No. 191. See further below, p. 137.

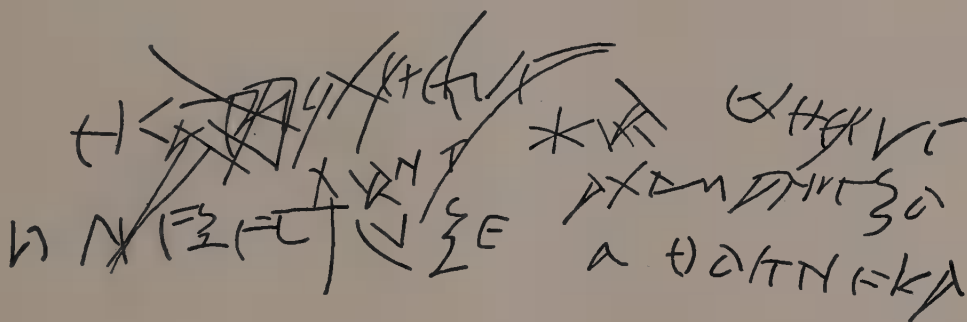
197. Door leading to cellar 9, left door post. The text, on an under layer of plaster, is almost illegible, but resembles the accounts of room 12. The first line begins, seemingly: ἐπὶ ἑλᾶχ[εν]; cf. Nos. 250 and 258.

Room 5. The south wall is poorly preserved. There remains in place

⁷ Or at the time of Dura's founding as a Roman colony; cf. A. R. Bellinger, *Rep. III*, p. 162.

of the original plaster only an irregular piece in the center, a little more than a meter in each direction. This piece is of a good quality and very white, but in addition to the texts presented below is covered with scratches and bits of texts—a feature which is suggested rather than represented in the facsimiles. It is possible that the wall has shifted. Most of the texts slope down to the right. There is some indication that the wall was covered, after it had become unsightly, with a thin layer of fresh plaster.

198. Height above floor, 1.25–1.05 m.; height, 0.20 m.; length, 0.65 m.; height of letters, 0.04–0.07 m.



In l. 1, *εχθευς* may be recognized twice, or better *α.εχθευς*. Perhaps this should be recognized as a name, *Ἀρεχθεύς* = *Ἐρεχθεύς*, though no such person human or divine is known at Dura. The *εκ* at the beginning is thereby unaccounted for. At the end of l. 3, *ηνεκα* may be a form of the aorist of *φέρω* (as for example in No. 239). It is possible to recognize at the end of l. 2 and at the beginning of l. 3 the same group of letters, *ανεξα* and *ανεξες*. But the clue I have not yet found.

199. Height above floor, 1.25 m.; length, 0.25 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m. Cf. facsimile of No. 198, l. 2.

χλαν(ιδιυ) * III

This would be a *χλανίδιον παιδικόν*; in No. 227, l. 16, a similar garment is priced at 3 (or 13) denarii.

200. Height above floor, 1.03-1 m.; length, 0.20 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 12 mm. *Comptes rendus*, I.

Λ (Ξ) (Ξ) Λ Σ Ε
 ΔΥΛ ΡΔ
 ΕΠΙΤΟΡΕΥΣΑΝΤΩΝ * III
 (-) ΤΥΛ * Χ
 ΚΡΕΙΘΗ * XII
 ΟΙΝΟΥ * III
 ΟΥΔΕΩΣ * II
 ΕΧΕΝ * ΘΛ
 ΕΠΙ ΡΙΣΤΟΙΝ ΙΗΤΩΝ
 Δ ΗΝΧΕ
 ΕΤ

ἄρτος εἰς Σούραν * III
 οἶτος * Χ
 κρείθῃ * XII
 οἶνος * IIII

The interpretation of this text has been discussed at length (*Comptes rendus*, pp. 166-168), and here I need only summarize the conclusions. The account is exceptional (so No. 204, but cf. No. 202; No. 295 is a different case) in that it lists the articles in the nominative case, subjects of a passive verb to be supplied—probably ἐπέμφθησαν; cf. No. 227. The numerals, as elsewhere on this wall and in part on the east wall of the same room, are Roman. The articles listed are commonplace, and the amounts insignificant. The key to an understanding of the text is supplied by l. 1: εἰς Σούραν. Sura (the modern Sourya) was a town on the Euphrates above Rakka. It long had been, and presumably still was, an important post of the Roman army. The articles of the list may then be regarded as part of the *annona*, collected in kind for the less fertile regions up the river.

201. Height above floor, 1.07–0.98 m.; length, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 0.03–0.04 m. Cf. facsimile of No. 200. *Comptes rendus*, 2.

ἄχυρα VIIIIIII

A record of receipts of hay, by number of bales, not by value. The seven unit numerals show that the items were added one by one; otherwise the total would have been written XII.

202. Height above floor, 0.98–0.94 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. Cf. facsimile of No. 200.

ϞΥ . ολδεος * II
ἐλεν * ΘV

The second item of this account is readily explained. As the Greek-speaking inhabitants of Dura regularly reduce the *ιον* diminutive suffix to *ιν*, so they would reduce *ἐλαιον*, "olive oil," to *ἐλαιιν*, which written phonetically gives *ἐλεν* as the form of the nominative or accusative. The *Θ* may be simply a mistake, or a Greek numeral; cf., however, No. 210, 3. The first item, of a modest value of two denarii, is obscure. For the introductory letters see below on No. 219.

203. Height above floor, 0.82–0.78 m.; length, 0.25 m.; height, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m. Cf. facsimile of No. 200.

Ἀρριανὸν Ἀντων-
εῖν (ον ?)

The Greek name Arrianus is otherwise unknown at Dura. On the Antoninus see above on No. 195.

The east wall. The plaster is here well preserved except toward the south, where deterioration interferes with the reading of Nos. 204 and 205. The rest of the texts are in the center of the wall, opposite the door leading into the court.

204. Above a crude and badly preserved drawing of a river ship. Height above floor, 1 m.; length, 0.11 m.; height, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

] * [
ἐλεν * η'
κριθή * β'

Compare the accounts, Nos. 200–202.

205. Below the ship. Height above floor, 0.93 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.03 m.

ἐχὼ * α'

This is probably the last item of the account above (No. 204).

206. To the north. Height above floor, 1.52 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.04 m.

ⲉⲧⲁⲣ ⲡⲃ ⲙⲙ

ⲉⲓⲥⲃⲁ
*ⲕⲗ

ⲧⲟⲩⲃⲓⲗ ⲙⲙ ⲓⲥ

|||||

Apparently a collection of numbers. The third sign represents three thousand. At the right are two sets of tallies.

207. Height above floor, 1.42 m.; length, 0.05 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m. Cf. facsimile of No. 206.

ⲉⲓⲥ ⲃⲁ ?

* ⲕⲗ'

An item of expenditure: 27 denarii for an unknown article.

208. Height above floor, 1.39 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Cf. facsimile of No. 206.

ΔΙΟΣΒΙΘ[.] ΟΥ ΙϞ

There are two possibilities for understanding this text, neither very convincing. It may be a receipt: from Diosbith[n]ius⁸ 16 (denarii?), but the omission of the denarius sign and a preposition (ἀπό) is strange. In the second place, one is reminded of the Palestinian month name Διὸς Κορινθίου (or Διοσκούρου) of II Macc. 11. 21; the sixteenth day of Diosbithnius, or however it may be restored. But no variation from the ordinary Macedonian month names is known at Dura.

⁸ I.e., a hybrid proper name. For the second, Semitic, element cf. Βιθναβαία Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 361. Or one might read Διοσβιθ[ύ]γου.

209. Height above floor, 1.16 m.; length, 0.39 m.; height, 0.16 m.; height of letters, 0.04–0.05 m.

ΣΥΒΙΘ ΙΟΥ ΙΣ

ΠΙΜΘΥΣ

ΟΥ ΚΡΕ

γόμενος
ΟΥ κρεί(θής)

The γόμενος (donkey load) as a unit of measure is familiar.⁹ If ΟΥ is to be taken as a numeral, it is evidence for a flourishing grain trade, but its size is suspicious.¹⁰

210. Above at the left. Height above floor, 1.52 m.; length, 0.09 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m.

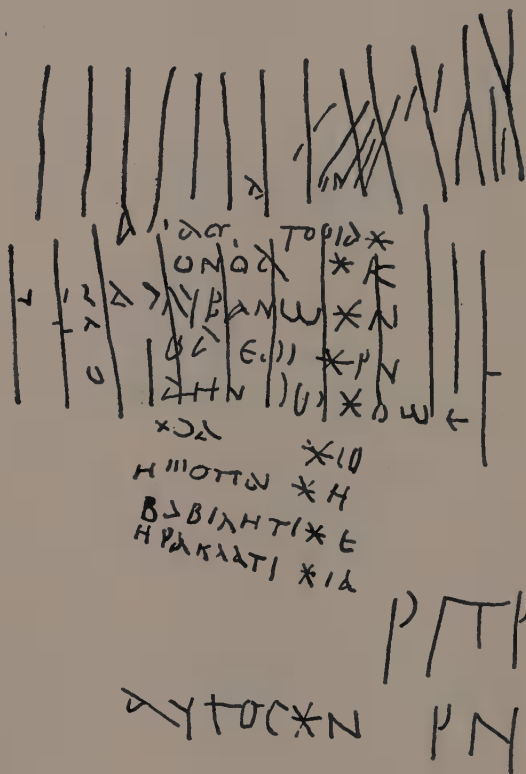
* XXV
* XXV
* XXXOI

A tabulation in Roman numerals. The meaning of the O is unknown; cf. the Θ in No. 202, above.

⁹ Cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, III, 358, s.v.; the Palmyra tariff, *O.G.I.S.*, 629 (2d cent.), *passim*.

¹⁰ No transaction involving anything like 470 donkey loads is found elsewhere; cf. below, p. 140.

211. To the north. Height above floor, 1.38 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 8–10 mm. The text is crossed by a number of coarse tally scratches.



Of this difficult account, whose surface is both eroded and defaced, nothing may be read certainly except the last two lines: Βαβίλητι * ε'; 'Ηρακλάτι * ια'—to Babiles five denarii, to Heraclas 11. Both names are new at Dura; for the former cf. the feminine diminutive Βαβίλειον, Cu-mont, *Fouilles*, 434 f. It is difficult to tell where the left margin of the text is, whether there are two left margins or two texts. In l. 2 the letters are fairly clear: ἀναστροφῶν; but the interpretation is uncertain. On ll. 4 and 8, the dative ending ω is certain. In l. 6, the amount in question (2,805 denarii) is remarkably large in comparison with the other items.

212. Height above floor, 1.36 m.; length, 0.24 m.; height, 0.11 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.03 m.

PA
P/TPAB Γ

ΑΥΤΟΥΣΧΝ ΠΝ
 ΗΟΚΡ/ΘΑΝ ΧΑ
 ΜΑΝΝΟΥΤΙ ΟΚ * Α
 ΕΙ(ΥΥ * Α
 ΕΙΣΤ ΛΕΝ * Α
 ΕΙΣΟΙΝΙΗΧΑ
 ΔΝ

Numbers: 180, 132, 101.

213. Height above floor, 1.20 m.; length, 0.12 m.; height, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 10-15 mm. Cf. facsimile of No. 212.

αὐτός * ν' ρν'
 εἰς κριθήν * α'
 Μάννῳ ἔδωκ(α) * δ'
 εἰς κρ[έας?] * δ'
 5 εἰς ἔλεν * ια'
 εἰς οἶνον * δ'
 [-]αν[- - -]

This is an account of the usual type. In the first line should be understood a verb: ἔχω (No. 205) or ἔλαβα (No. 245, 1). The ΠΝ (150) at the right may be a total, or it may belong with No. 212. The name Mannus is new at Dura, though otherwise well known. Such forms as Μανναῖος (Cumont, *Fouilles*, 393) have, however, been found in the city. For ἔλεν = ἔλαιον, see above on No. 202.

The west room (12).

214. On the south side of the doorway leading to the court. Height above floor, 1.56 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m.

λα'

The number 31.

215. Height above floor, 1.24 m.; length, 0.17 m.; height, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 10-18 mm.

Σαδαμοῶς

KϜ	Z	26	7
IΘ	Ϝ	19	6
IΘ	Ϝ	19	6
IϜ	Ϝ	16	6
KA	Z	21	7

A tabulation of which the meaning is not clear. If the numbers in the first column were otherwise arranged, one would think of days of the month. The name Sadamsas is otherwise unknown, though Sada is a familiar first element in Semitic names.

216. On the east wall south of the door, by the lamp niche (p. 81). Height above floor, 1.20 m.; length, 0.11 m.; height, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 10-13 mm.

Many letters at irregular intervals, forming a text of uncertain character. Perhaps mere jottings of numbers.

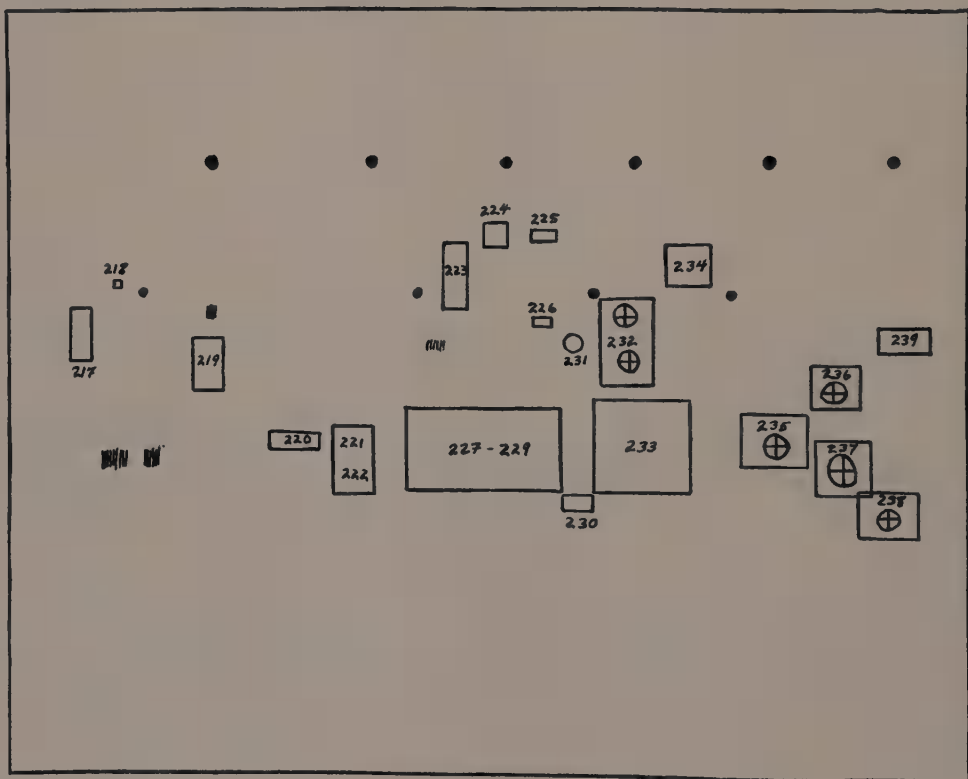


Fig. 1.

West Room, South Wall.

217. The south wall (Fig. 1). Height above floor, 1.35 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height, 0.175 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm.

ΙϜ	Ζ	16	7
ΚΒ	Η	22	8
Κ	Ζ	20	7
ΚΒ	Η	22	8
ΙϜ	Ϝ	16	6
ΚΒ	Η	22	8
ΚΒ	Η	22	8
ΙΔ	Ϝ	14	6

A tabulation similar to No. 215; cf. also Nos. 223, 226, and 234.

218. Height above floor, 1.59 m.; length, 0.02 m.; height of letters, 15 mm.

B B.

219. Height above floor, 1.26 m.; length, 0.095 m.; height, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 6 mm. At Yale.

CT παραγαύ(δια) δα(?) β'
 δελματικά(ν) ἐρι(νήν) α'
 κολόβιν ἐρινόν α'
 μαφάριν ἐρινόν(ν) α'
 παραγαῦδιν λευκ(όν) α'
 ἐπικάρσιν α'
 κολόβιν παρφ(υροῦν) α'
 φασκίαν α'
 περίστρω(μον) α'
 μονομάλ(λους) πα(ρφυροῦς) β'
 περίστρω(μον) ζωγρα(φητόν) α'
 [π]άλιν λευκόν α'
 [. .] ΣΚΑΔΕΖΜΙΑ ε'
 [προσ]κεφαλά(διν) α'

7
 5
 10

This is rather an inventory than the record of a shipment (as No. 227); cf. Nos. 222 and 243, and the many inventories among the papyri.¹¹ The item in l. 13 has defied reading. The introductory sign suggests that in No. 202, but can hardly be the same as that used often below (p. 100). I do not know its meaning.

The *paragaudium*,¹² usually called *paragaudis*, corresponded originally to the Roman clavus, a colored border attached to a tunic, but it was later used to mean the garment itself. As adopted as a church vestment, it was of a gold color.¹³ The qualifying adjective (?) in l. 1 defies interpretation; the nature of the article precludes the supplement δα(σέα). The superposition of the final letter is in the papyri also a common mark of an abbreviation.¹⁴

The dalmatic¹⁵ and the colobium are familiar from their adoption by the church. They were robes similar in character, the latter receiving its name from having short sleeves.¹⁶

The *maphorium*¹⁷ was the veil or head covering worn by women.¹⁸

The adjective ἐπικάρσιος used not uncommonly in connection with textiles meaning "striped." The noun ἐπικάρσιον is uncommon; it probably refers to a garment of diagonal pattern or weave.¹⁹

¹¹ E.g., *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, I, 21; *P. Oxyrh.*, 109, 921; *P. Tebtunis*, 406; all of the third century.

¹² Cf. *P. Oxyrh.*, 1026, 12 (5th cent.); the reading is due to G. Lumbroso, *Arch. für Papyr.*, V (1913), 408.

¹³ H. Blümner in Th. Mommsen, *Der Maximaltarif des Diokletian* (1893), pp. 152 f.; H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne* (1907), I, 97; H. Blümner, *Die römischen Privataltertümer* (Müller's *Handbuch*, IV, 2, 2; 1927), p. 209.

¹⁴ Cf. Nos. 225, 227, II, 2 and 8; the ἦλ(ις) and the ὦρ(α) of the horoscopes (Nos. 232, 236, 237); cf. *Rep. II*, H. 2, 3.

¹⁵ The form δελματικά is curious. It cannot be taken as a neuter plural, from δελματικόν, for it is clear from No. 227, II, 8, that the feminine form, δελματική, was current at Dura. It may be that Latin influence (*dalmatica*) had introduced an analogical inflection, δελματικά, δελματικᾶς; cf. below on No. 227, II, 7.

¹⁶ The literature, especially on the dalmatic, is enormous. Cf., e.g., Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, II, 1, 19-21; Blümner, *Maximaltarif*, pp. 149 f.; Wilpert, *Gewandung*, pp. 20 f., 25, 36-40; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 f.; Blümner, *Röm. Priv.*, p. 208; C. M. Kaufmann, *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* (1913), pp. 577 f.; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, IV, 1 (1921), 111-119.

¹⁷ The spelling μαφάρις is repeated in No. 257; see below, p. 144.

¹⁸ Cf. Blümner, in *Maximaltarif*, p. 176; Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 f.; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 581 f.

¹⁹ So S. Eitrem on *P. Osloenses*, 56, 5 (Fasc. 2, 1931). Cf. *P. Oxyrh.*, 1583, 6, of the second century, and *ibid.*, 921, 14 and *B.G.U.*, 816, 19, both of the third.

The form φασκίαν shows that the articles were listed in the accusative case, objects probably of ἔχομεν (No. 272). The fascia was a strip or band (like the *paragaudium* ?) used for a variety of purposes.²⁰

The term περίστρωμα (here, περίστρωμος; cf. No. 227, II, 6) is one of many used for a blanket. It might be decorated in various ways. Pollux (10, 48) writes: “ἐπαινῶν δ’ ἂν εἴποις στρωμνὴ λεπτή . . . ἀνθοῦσα . . . ποικίλη . . . ζῶα ἐνύφαντο, ἄνθη ἐνεπεποίκιλτο, θηρία ἐνεγέγραπτο, ἄστρα ἐνήστραπτεν.”

The word μονόμαλλος is otherwise known only through the inventory *P. Oxyrh.*, 109, 2, of the third century. It should mean a garment made only of wool, but this is unsatisfactory as a definition; it must refer to a specific sort of garment which we are not yet in a position to identify.

The pallium (the two λ's are correctly given in No. 222) is the well-known rival and equivalent of the Roman toga; cf. Tertullian's essay, *De Pallio*.²¹

Concerning cushions (προσκεφαλαῖα or προσκεφαλᾶδια) no comment is necessary.

220. Height above floor, 1.07 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height, 0.045 m.; height of letters, 8 mm. At Yale. *Comptes rendus*, 3.

ΕΠΥΛΗΤΑΣ ΦΗΡΑΝ Δ Δ ΓΟΝ Δ
ΚΑΤΑ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΝ Λ' ΜΝΗΣΘΗ Δ ΓΡΑΨΑΣ
ΗΜΕΡΑ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ

ἐποίησα σφῆρον Δαίσιου α'
κατὰ σελήνην λ' μνησθῆ ὁ γράψας
ἡμέρα Σελήνης.

“I have made a horoscope on the first of Daesius, on the thirtieth day of the moon; may the writer be remembered; Monday.”

The reference is to the horoscope²² of Alexander (Nos. 233, 235–239)

²⁰ Leclercq, *op. cit.*, pp. 92 f.; Blümner, *Röm. Priv.*, p. 221.

²¹ Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–12, 47–50; Leclercq, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Blümner, *Röm. Priv.*, pp. 214 f., 235; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 583 f.

²² For this meaning of σφῆρος cf. the σφαῖρα ἀστρολογική of Plutarch, *Moralia*, 838c (= *Life of Isocrates*, 26).

and the writer is presumably the "I" of the other texts, Nebuchelus. It would be of considerable interest to precise the year in which this text was written, for it has a bearing on the relation existing between the writer and the subject. The horoscope enables us to identify the date of Alexander's birth as December 11, 218; the day of the week was Saturday. The tables of the new moons furnished by F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* (1911), II, Table III, make it a matter of simple calculation to ascertain the Julian correspondences for every thirtieth day of the moon before the first of Dae-sius²³ from 219 to 242: these will be in fact the days of the first conjunction of the moon after the Babylonian new year.²⁴ Allowing for leap years, one may readily determine on what days of the week these dates fall. There are four Mondays in the period examined.²⁵ April 22, 228; May 8, 232; May 5, 235; May 17, 242. To one of these years, perhaps the third (p. 136), the graffito should be assigned.

221. Height above floor, 1.10 m.; length, 0.10 m.; height, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 10-15 mm. At Yale.

ΣΙΧΑΦΦΑΔΑΝΑ
 ΔΕΛΜ(ΑΤΙΚΗΝ) Α' Ξ'
 ΜΑΘΚ(ΩΝΑ) [- -]
 , ΜΡΘ..

ΣΙΧΑΦΦΑΔΑΝΑ

δελμ(ατικήν) α' ξ'

μαθκ(ωνα) [- -]

The interpretation of the first line is uncertain. The last letters spell 'Αφφάδανα, one spelling of the name of the town, Apphadana, situated on the left bank of the Euphrates opposite Deir-ez-Zor²⁶. On the analogy of Nos. 227 and 240, one would expect here, εἰς 'Αφφάδανα—the destination of a shipment of goods. This expectation is sharpened by the fact

²³ Cf. J. Johnson, *Dura Studies* (Diss. Pennsylvania, 1932), pp. 4 f., especially p. 5, n. 15.

²⁴ Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁵ Of twenty-four years; it is probable that none of the graffiti in the house dates long after 239 (p. 137).

²⁶ Ptolemy 5, 17, 5; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie* (1927), p. 483. The name is spelled 'Απάδανα in Nos. 227 and 240.

that prices are quoted for the articles listed.²⁷ In place of ΣΙ, ΕΙ might easily be read; it is not impossible that the X is a mistake of writing for Σ.

The dalmatic (p. 102) is comparatively high priced. The purple one in No. 222 is worth 40 denarii, while those in No. 227 are worth 30 and 22 denarii, respectively. See further below, p. 141. For the μαθκῶνα see on No. 227, III, 2.

222. Height above floor, 0.91 m.; length, 0.11 m.; height, 0.065 m.; height of letters, 8–10 mm. At Yale.

πεδικὸν Δ 1Γ
 πᾶλλιν Δ 9
 δελ(ματικὴν) παρφυ(ρᾶν) Δ μ'
 δελ(ματικὴν) περσυνὸν Δ

πεδικὸν α' ιγ'

πᾶλλιν α' θ'

δελ(ματικὴν) παρφυ(ρᾶν) α' μ'

δελ(ματικὴν) περσυνὸν α'

There is no trace of a numeral after α' in l. 4; this is perhaps to be connected with the notation περσυνόν, though mention of a "year old" dalmatic is surprising in any case. The other garments have all been met in No. 219, except the παιδικόν, with which is to be understood a noun like χλανίδιον (No. 199), λινούδιον (as in *P. Oxyrh.*, 1066, 10, of the third century; cf. No. 300, 14); or χιτώνιον (cf. *P. Hamburg*, 10, 16, second century). It is a garment of lower price in Nos. 199 and 227.

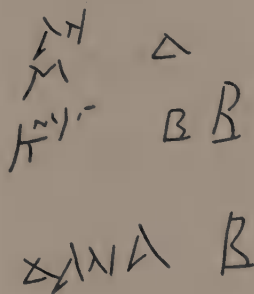
223. Height above floor, 1.52 m.; length, 0.075 m.; height, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 15 mm.

KA	H	21	8
KB	H	22	8
KB	H	22	8
K	B	20	2
KB	H	22	8
KB	H	22	8
KB	H	22	8
KB	H	22	8
KH	Θ	28	9

This is a tabulation like Nos. 215 and 217.

²⁷ As in No. 227, but not in the inventory No. 219.

224. Height above floor, 1.70 m.; length, 0.08 m.; height, 0.09 m.; height of letters, 15 mm. At Yale.



The last line may be read $\delta\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta'$ or $\delta\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta'$, meaning in either case, "two torches." The latter is more probable; $\delta\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \beta'$ is used by Procopius (*De Bello Gothico*, 2, 20) and survives in modern Greek as $\delta\alpha\delta\acute{\iota}$ —"fag-got."

225. Height above floor, 1.74 m.; length, 0.065 m.; height, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 7-15 mm.

$\chi\omega(?)\ \gamma\beta\beta$

Perhaps $\chi\acute{\omega}(\rho\alpha\varsigma)$, but the meaning of the following letters or numerals is uncertain.

226. Height above floor, 1.46 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height of letters about 0.02 m.

KB K

Compare Nos. 215, 217, 223, and 234.

227. Height above floor, 0.97 m.; length, 0.31 m.; height, 0.24 m.; height of letters, 5-12 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 2.

Col. I	$\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\mu\psi\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \text{'Α}\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\nu\alpha\ \epsilon\acute{\gamma}\omega\ \text{Νεβουχ}\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma$
	$\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\iota\alpha\ \beta'\ \mu\zeta'$
	$\beta'\ \mu\kappa'$
	$\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\acute{\omicron}\lambda\epsilon\alpha\ \beta'\ \mu\kappa'$
5	$\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha\ \zeta'\ \mu\beta'$
	$\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\kappa\lambda\iota\alpha\ \beta'\ \mu\kappa'$
	$\epsilon\pi\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\alpha\ \delta'\ \rho\zeta'$
	$\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\omicron}\chi\iota\rho\alpha\ \delta'\ \xi\delta'$
	$\sigma\omicron\upsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\alpha\ \delta'\ \iota\epsilon'$

10	τολάρι(α) β' ν'
	ἄλλα γ' μβ'
	βαλανά(ρια) β' νε'
	ἀναβόλε(α) β' μ κ'
	δελματικ { ικ } (ἄς) β' ξ'
15	παρθενικά δ'
	πεδικὸν α' γ' (or ιγ')
	βαλανάρια β' λε'
	πεδικὰ ψεγ(όμενα?) δ' ια'
	ὁ εἶχαμεν πρῶτα
Col. II	κο(λόβια) δελματι(κὰ) β' μδ'
	κολόβια β' λε'
	φακιάλια β' κδ'
	5 κοίτες β'
	περίστρωμον α' καὶ προσκεφαλὰδιν αὐτοῦ
Col. III	στιχά(ριο)ν εἰδιόχ(ρουν) α' ι'
	δελματικάς β' λε' λο(?) ζ(?)
	πορφύρα λι(τρῶν) θ'
	μαθκῶνα β'

This text records the shipment of a large and miscellaneous consignment of goods up the river to Apphadana (cf. on No. 221). The writer is Nebuchelus, the owner of the house, but as the plural in Col. II, 1, shows, the transaction was one in which his partners also (p. 126) were interested.

The interpretation of the letters preceding ἔπεμψα as ἐπί is, I think, certain paleographically; they are identical with the ἐπί of Nos. 233 and 246. This interpretation is one which I have sought to avoid. In the *Comptes rendus*, I interpreted the sign (in Nos. 240, 241, 260, and 264) as ὅτι, but the letters are not properly so read. Professor W. L. Westermann, to whom I appealed, suggested ἔστι on the basis of the ἔστι δέ and καὶ ἔστι, used commonly in the Egyptian papyri to introduce lists.²⁸ Typical is *P. Tebtunis*, 406 (A.D. 266), 8-12: λόγος ὃν κατάλειψεν Παῦλος . . . ἔστι δέ: λυχνεῖα τελεία, κτλ. This, however, though tempting, cannot be accepted. The sign of these graffiti is never used to introduce lists, but memoranda, and it is always followed by a verb (cf. also Nos. 249, 256, and 271). There seems to be no alternative to accepting the letters as ἐπί, either for ἔπεστι or as an adverb. The latter is paralleled in Ionic Greek: cf. Herodotus 7, 65: ἐπὶ δὲ σίδηρος ἦν; *ibid.*, 75: περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα

²⁸ Cf. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v. εἰμί (19).

κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειράς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας; Homer *Iliad* 18, 529; *Odyssey* 5, 443; Sophocles *Oed. Tyr.* 182. The former is, antecedently, the more probable. The meaning would be in either case, *item*.

Some of these articles have already been discussed, to wit: the *epicarium* (I, 7; cf. on No. 219), the dalmatic (I, 14; II, 8; cf. on No. 219), the *paedicum* (I, 16, 18; cf. on No. 222), the colobium (II, 2, 3; cf. on No. 219), the περίστρωμος and the προσκεφαλάδιον (II, 6; cf. on No. 219). Our information concerning the others may be summarized as follows.

The ἀνίκλιον is otherwise unknown as a Greek word. Though deriving ultimately from ἀγκύλη, it is used only in Aramaic אֲנִיקְלִי (א). The meaning is not certainly known, but the etymology shows that the garment must be either a shirt with sleeves or a pair of trousers fitting tightly about the lower legs (Kraeling).

The ἀναβόλαιον was a short cloak, corresponding to the earlier ἀναβολή and to the Latin *paenula*.²⁹

The Latin *sudarium* occurs as a Greek work also in the *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri*, I, 27, 7 (second century) and 21, 19 (third century).³⁰ Like the φακιάλιον (II, 4)³¹ it corresponded rather to a napkin or kerchief than to a handkerchief.

The μακρόχειρον represents, according to its name, the *tunica manicata* of the Romans.³²

The reading of Col. I, 10, is difficult. Only the first letter is uncertain, but neither of the two possibilities, τ and π, lead to identification of the garment in question. The width of the break in the plaster suggests rather π. For πολάρι(α) there are two possibilities. On the tendency at Dura to confuse ο and α, one may understand παλάρια as an adjective formation (from *palla*), and a *pallaris* is in fact mentioned in the *Notae Tironianae* (IV, 1, Pl. 97, 23; Schmitz). Against this may be cited the examples of πάλλιον with α among the graffiti (Nos. 219, 12; 222, 2). Again, on the assumption of a confusion of ο and α, it would be possible to compare the gloss given by Du Cange, *palaris* = *pellis*. Whether the word is in any way connected with the παλάριν of *B.G.U.*, 40, 5 (second/third century) is very uncertain. That text is a list of articles with

²⁹ Blümner, *Maximaltarif*, p. 170.

³⁰ Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, IV, 1, 223–225, s.v. *Orarium*; Blümner, *Röm. Priv.*, p. 221.

³¹ John of Lydia (*De Magistratibus Populi Romani*, I, 32) points out the derivation from *facies*. Cf. Blümner, *Maximaltarif*, p. 171; Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis*, III, 390.

³² Wilpert, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 f.; Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 577.

prices: a skin bottle, a horn knife, a file, leather chairs, a wooden kneading trough, leather boxes, a pot, a mattress. Between certain straps of unknown nature and the file occurs the item: ὄπλον παλάριον. The παλάριον there is an adjective, and its nature as a "tool" is unknown.

If the first letter is read as τ, there are three possibilities. The Latin *tālāria*, "sandals," is used as a loan-word in Aramaic (Kraeling), but at 25 denarii the pair some of these sandals would be more expensive than the boots of No. 243. In the second place, the word may be a misspelling of τυλάριον, "cushion"; cf. No. 300, 27. It may also be possible to connect the word τολάρια with the Latin *torale*,⁸³ used, e.g., in the *Satires* of Petronius, §40: *advenērunt ministri ac toralia praeposuerunt toris*. The single manuscript authority, H, reads for *toralia*, *tolaria*; it would perhaps be possible to assume in this case a similar metathesis of liquids. The word is already attested at Dura; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription No. 13, 9: τοράλλια δύο. The articles, blankets or rugs (= περιστρώματα), fit well in a list of textiles, and the prices (14–25 denarii) are not disproportionate.

The meaning of βαλανάριον is not yet certainly established, but it is clear that it means neither "bath towel" or "bath bag," the two suggestions of Grenfell and Hunt on *P. Oxyrh.*, 921, 18 (third century), where the word was first discovered. In *P. Osloenses*, 56, 6 (second century), it is mentioned in a letter with a number of other garments (ἐπικάρσια, χιτῶνας, α ἱματύλιν) and the editors unhesitatingly classify it as one—a "bath robe" or mantle worn to or in a bath. The same meaning is assigned to the word also in *P.S.I.*, 1082, 17, a badly written letter of the fourth century: τὸ σ(τ)ιχάριον τὸ αἰραιοῦν σὺν μαφορτίου φλουμαρικοῦ. . . . ἐν(τε)τυλιγμένα εἰς τὸ βαλανάριόν σου—"wrapped up in your bath robe." The other instances of the word are more ambiguous. In the *Amherst Papyri*, 126, 45 (second century) an item of an account reads, τιμῇ(ς) βαλαναρίο(υ) (δραχμαὶ) δ'. The text dates before the debasement of the currency, and four drachmae is a price not too low for a modest garment. In *P. Oxyrh.*, 1026 (fifth century), a βαλανάριον and a λινούδιον are valued at 15,000,000 denarii; as a dalmatic in the same list was worth only 33,850,000, it is clear that the other two items must have been more than the "towel and linen cloth" of the editors.⁸⁴ The remaining two occurrences of the word, *P. Oxyrh.*, 1051, 22 (third century) and 1741, 28

⁸³ Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, V, 380 f., s.v. *Torus* (H. Graillot); Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 374 f.

⁸⁴ The usual meaning of λινούδιον is "linen shirt"; cf. on No. 300, 14.

(fourth century) are inconsequential. It may be that βαλανάριον should be, as Grenfell and Hunt once suggest,⁸⁵ equated with the βαλανίνη mentioned in a dowry, *P. Oxyrh.*, 265, 3 (first century): τὴν δὲ βαλανίνην τὴν καλὴν ὑδατίνην, though the usual interpretation of that word is quite different.⁸⁶

The formation παρθενικόν is similar to the παιδικόν below and in No. 222; there is to be understood a noun, χιτώνιον for example. The word is otherwise unattested in this sense, though Plutarch (*Comparison of Lycurgus and Numa*, §3, 77 A) refers to the παρθενικός χιτών.

If the restoration ψεγόμενα is correct, it will account for the low price of the articles in question; "damaged" boys' clothing would naturally be cheap. Cf. the δελματική περουνός of No. 222, 4.

Column II, 1. The notation would mean that the following items were not specially acquired, but drawn from stock.

For the φακιάλιον see above under *sudarium* (p. 101).

The spelling κοίτες is the late Greek accusative (for κοίτας).

The form περίστρωμος = περίστρωμα is otherwise unattested, and would be a local analogical formation.

The writing στιχαν would be rather a colloquial shortening of στιχάριον than the type of abbreviation used in Christian texts, θς = θ(εό)ς, etc. (cf. on No. 243). Though there is a noun στίχη with the same meaning, there is so far as I know no Latin *sticha* which might serve as analogical basis for a Greek στίχα like the δελματικά of No. 219, 2 (cf., however, the τύλα = τύλη of No. 300, 28). The article was a kind of *tunica* afterward adopted as a garment by Christian priests.⁸⁷

Column III. The mention of purple dye here and in No. 242 would suggest that the house was interested in the manufacture as well as the merchandising of textiles. It is a question whether this dye was sent with the other articles to Apphadana. Antecedently, one would suppose that it was noted here in another connection, for elsewhere only finished goods, not raw materials, are listed as sold. Purple was regularly handled in units of pounds (λίτραί); cf. *P. Giessen*, 47, 13 (time of Hadrian); *P.S.I.*, 201 (fifth/sixth century).

⁸⁵ On *P. Oxyrh.*, 921.

⁸⁶ As "date colored," from βάλανος. The interpretation of τὸ πρὸς βαλανίον of *P. Oxyrh.*, 903, 29 (4th cent.) is uncertain.

⁸⁷ Blümner, in *Maximaltarif*, p. 115; cf. the instances from the papyri listed by T. Reil, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Gewerbes im hellenistischen Aegypten* (Diss. Leipzig, 1913), p. 120.

The meaning of μαθκῶνα (cf. No. 221, 3) is uncertain. It is probably to be derived from the root קָנַן as a nominal formation analogous to מְכַנֵּן , hence probably some "ornamented" object or "preparation" (Kraeling).

228. Height above floor, 1.16 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height, 0.02 m.; height of letters, 5–8 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 2.

ὁπότε εἰς[ῆ]λθα εἰς ΚΑΧΑΝΔΕΣ ἡνινκα

* . ςη'

The item is of a type not at all uncommon among the graffiti, though the interpretation could be counted certain only if the place name(?) after the εἰς were identified. The reading in l. 2 is *ad hoc*. None of the letters except the η is certain.

229. Height above floor, 0.97 m.; length, 0.24 m.; height, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 2.

Above a *tabula ansata*, in large letters: ΙΟΣ (of no apparent meaning). Within it, but running off to the right, so perhaps an earlier graffito, what is apparently εἰς Νεικοφῶν(τα), "for Nicophon."⁸⁸ Inside the *tabula* are many scratches which may or may not have once constituted a sensible text.

230. Height above floor, 0.90 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters approximately 0.01 m.

l. 3 μν(ησθη) Νεβ(ουχελος)

l. 4 μν(ησθη) 'Αλέξανδρος

⁸⁸ Cf. the Philomelus son of Nicophon of *Rep. I*, R. 9 (p. 36).

The marks in the plaster are in places shallow and indistinct, and the interpretation of the first two lines is very difficult. Conceivably the first line may have been $\mu\nu(\eta\sigma\theta\eta) \text{ Ζαββαί}(ος)$, though that leaves unaccounted for certain traces at the end. The second line may be taken as $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{o}$, followed by a genitive ending in $\etaς$; on the other hand, the final letters resemble rather $\tau\iotaς$. The third line would be perhaps better $\text{Νε}\iota$ than $\text{Νε}\beta$, $\text{Νε}\iota(\kappa\omicron\phi\omega\nu)$, for example; names beginning Νίκο are common at Dura.

231. Height above floor, 1.36 m. A circle, 0.065 m. in diameter, drawn for a horoscope never completed.

232. Height above floor, 1.26 m.; length, 0.17 m.; height, 0.29 m.; height of letters, 6 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 3. *Comptes rendus*, 4.

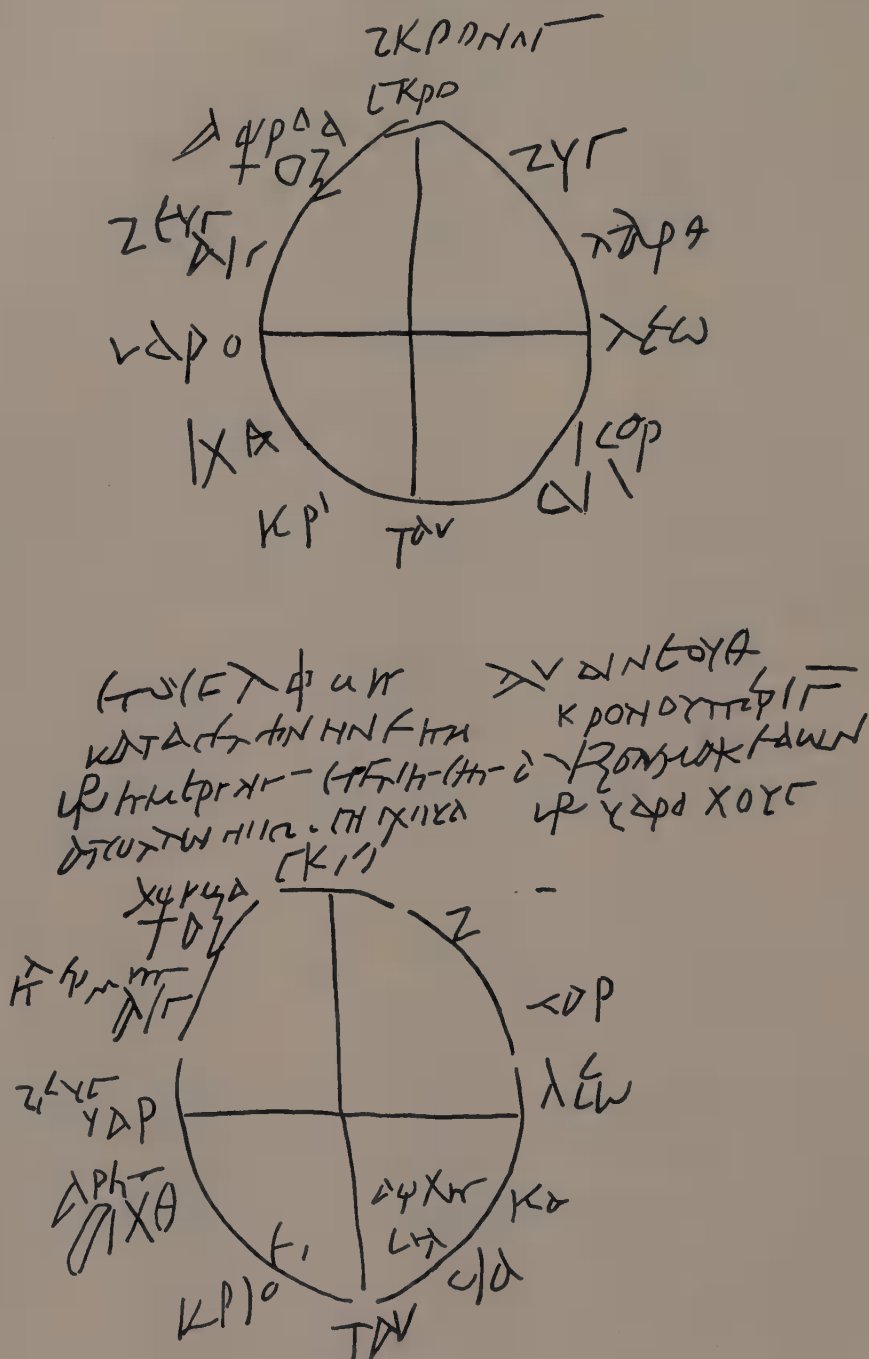
The graffito consists of two diagrammatic representations of the horoscope, constellations, and planets arranged about a quartered circle,³⁹ and between them, a legend. The *horoscopos*, that is, the constellation rising on the horizon, is $\Upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilonς$, Aquarius. Reading counterclockwise from the zenith the order is as follows:

- $\Sigma\text{ΚΡΟ} = \Sigma\kappa\omicron\rho\pi\iota\omicronς$ (Scorpio)
- $\text{ΤΟΞ} = \text{Τοξότης}$ (Sagittarius)
- $\text{ΑΙΓ} = \text{Αιγόκερως}$ (Capricornus)
- $\Upsilon\Delta\rho = \Upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\chi\omicron\upsilonς$ (Aquarius)
- $\text{ΙΧΘ} = \text{Ἰχθύδιον}$ (for ἰχθύες , Pisces; see below)
- $\text{ΚΡΙ} = \text{Κριός}$ (Aries)
- $\text{ΤΑΥΡ} = \text{Ταῦρος}$ (Taurus)
- $\Delta\text{ΙΔ} = \text{Δίδυμοι}$ (Gemini)
- $\text{ΚΑΡ} = \text{Καρκίνος}$ (Cancer)
- $\Lambda\text{ΕΩ} = \text{Λέων}$ (Leo)
- $\text{ΠΑΡΘ} = \text{Παρθένος}$ (Virgo)
- $\text{ΖΥΓ} = \text{Ζυγός}$ (Libra)

As has been established by Dr. Dirk Brouwer, for whose coöperation I am very grateful, the position of the planets in the lower circle are correct; they are different in some respects both in the upper circle and in the copies of the horoscope (Nos. 235–239). Cronus (Saturn) is above Scorpio; Venus below and to the left; the sun slightly above Mercury, below Sagittarius; Jupiter by Aquarius; Mars below Aquarius; and the lunar crescent embracing Pisces.⁴⁰

³⁹ Cf. the Dura horoscope published by J. Johnson, *Rep. II*, pp. 161–164.

⁴⁰ A slight correction may be here made in the reading of the horoscope published by



The legend between the circles is as follows:

ἔτους λφ', μηνός Αὐδινέου θ'
κατὰ σελήνην ε', ἡμέρα Κρόνου, περὶ γ'
ὥρ(ας) ἡμερινῆς, ἐγενήθη Ἀλέξαν(δρος) Μακεδῶν
'Απολλωνίου· ἐν Ἰχθυδίῳ ὥρ(οσκοπος) Ὑδροχοῦς.

"In the year 530, on the ninth of the month Audnaeus and on the fifth day of the moon, Saturday, about the third hour of the day, was born Alexander Macedonius son of Apollonius; in the constellation of Pisces;⁴¹ Aquarius was rising on the horizon."

The result of Dr. Brouwer's investigation was to prove the general accuracy of the composer's work. On December 11, A.D. 218, at 11.25 Greenwich Civil Time, or approximately 9.30 A.M. at Dura, the position of the planets was the following:

Scorpio 210°-240°	Venus 217°
	Saturn 225°
Sagittarius 240°-270°	Sun 258°
	Mercury 265°
Aquarius 300°-330°	Jupiter 304°
	Mars 324°
Pisces 330°-360°	Moon 331°

The writer was incorrect, then, in the relative positions of Venus and Saturn, and only approximate in his placing of Jupiter. Otherwise he

Johnson, though it does not materially affect his results. He states that the moon should be restored in Scorpio, where a piece of plaster has fallen away. The graffito itself had, on my visit to Dura in March, 1931, been removed from the wall by a process requiring that the surface be covered with canvas. This it was impracticable to remove at that time, and as the graffito has been presented to the Museum at Beirut, I cannot verify my suggestion on the original text. From the photograph, however, published as Pl. LI, 1, of *Rep. II*, it seems clear that the moon is represented as in the present graffito by a crescent at the left of, and embracing, Sagittarius. This would make a difference of approximately 30° in the moon's position, dating the horoscope a few hours later.

⁴¹ Ordinarily ἐν ἰχθύσι, etc., but the Greeks of Dura were given to the use of diminutives; ἰχθυίδιον is otherwise well known (cf. also No. 290).

was correct. The conjunction of the moon occurred on December 5.09, Greenwich Astronomical Time.⁴² Adding .50 day for the change to Civil Time and .12 day for correction to the longitude of Dura,⁴³ one finds that the new moon at Dura occurred on December 5.71 or at 5.30 P.M. of December 5. As the calendar new moon was the observed new moon,⁴⁴ that may be placed on the following day, December 6. December 11, then, was as the legend stated the fifth day of the moon.

From this may be drawn two conclusions. The question had often been raised as to whether the Seleucid Era as employed by Dura began with October, 312 B.C., as in Syria, or with April, 311 B.C., as in Babylonia.⁴⁵ The horoscope shows that the former was the case, otherwise the year would have been 529, not 530. In the second place, two changes had occurred in the Dura calendar since A.D. 176, the year of the horoscope published by Johnson. Then the Macedonian months coincided with the lunar months, and the new year began in the fall with Hyperberetaeus.⁴⁶ Now, forty-two years later, the Macedonian months were in advance of the lunar,⁴⁷ and the year began, as it had in the third century B.C., with Dios.⁴⁸ This may have been due to the insertion of an intercalary month in a year to which it did not belong, but we have no evidence as to when or why it took place.

Many ancient horoscopes are known.⁴⁹ This, like the other horoscope found at Dura, is simple compared to many of those found in Egypt, where the position of planets may be given in degrees and minutes, and

⁴² F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II, Table III.

⁴³ J. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, p. 5, n. 15.

⁴⁴ J. Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 f.

⁴⁵ M. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies*, II (1931), 39.

⁴⁶ Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-15.

⁴⁷ Four days in the horoscope, one day in No. 220, of (probably) A.D. 235.

⁴⁸ This is shown by a simple calculation. The first year of the nineteen-year cycle to which A.D. 218 belongs was 204/5. The months average $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, and the years containing intercalary months are known (Johnson, *op. cit.*; Pl. I). If the cycle had begun with Hyperberetaeus 1 on or about October 11, 204, the year 218/19 would have begun with Hyperberetaeus 1 on or about October 7, 218. But December 11, 218, corresponds to Audnaeus 9, and between Hyperberetaeus and Audnaeus there intervene two months, Dios and Apellaeus; between October 7 and December 2 there is room for only one. Therefore the year 218/19 did not begin with Hyperberetaeus, but with Dios.

⁴⁹ Cf. the list compiled by J. Sprey on *P. Jandanae* 88 (ed. Kalbfleisch, Fasc. 5, 1931).

where the ὠροσκόπος is a star, not a constellation. Two details of this text, however, are unique. One is the expression in the legend, ἐν Ἰχθυοδίῳ; the moon was in Pisces, a favorable sign.⁵⁰ The other detail is the little note written within the lower circle of this graffito and in one other copy of the horoscope (No. 237). The first line consists clearly of the word ἀρχή. The second line is very indistinct. One would expect this note to be an interpretation of the horoscope. Cf. the notation attached to *P. Oxyrh.*, 804 (A.D. 4): ἔχει κινδύνους· φυλάσσου ἕως ἡμερῶ(ν) μ' χάριν τοῦ Ἀρεως. In fact, ἀρχή, though rarely mentioned by the astrologers, was one of the τύχαι (ἐξουσία, στρατεία, ἐπιθυμία, κοινωνία, νίκη, etc.), and had its own κληρος or segment, between Jupiter and Venus.⁵¹ What follows in No. 237 strongly suggests ἐγκειτ = ἔγκειται, which would have to mean, "rule is in the stars for you." The meaning of ἔγκειμαι, however, and particularly the assimilation ἐγκ (for ἐνκ), not practiced at Dura or generally elsewhere throughout the Greek world at this period, make this interpretation unsatisfactory. Possibly, on the model of the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, one should read ἀρχή(ν) ἔχει (or ἔχεις).

If the stars held ἀρχή for the subject of this horoscope, his name was not unworthy of it. In fact, Ἀλέξανδρος Μακεδών may have gone so far as to change his father's name in the direction of greater dignity. Once (No. 191) it appears in the (original[?] and) common form of Apollonius. Elsewhere it is the otherwise unknown Apollonicus, "Apollo grants victory." The appearance of an Alexander Macedonius in Dura, born in December, A.D. 218, has a strange aspect. It is clear from many indications, however, that the descendants of the original Macedonian settlers in Mesopotamia kept alive the memory of their illustrious ancestry. M. Cumont was the first to observe how tenaciously the first families

⁵⁰ Cf. Cumont *et al.*, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, IV (1903), 142: τῆς σελήνης οὐσης ἐν Ἰχθύσιν, καλὸν ὀδεύειν, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ στρατιάν καὶ πόλεμον, καὶ πλέειν καὶ εἰς ἐμπορίαν ἀπέρχεσθαι· τῷ γήμαντι ἀγαθόν· ἔσται γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ πιστή, φιλόστοργος, εὐπειθής· ὁ νοσῶν οὐ κινδυνεύσει· ὁ φυγὼν κινδυνεύσας ἐπιστρέψει· καλὸν φυτεύειν, οἰκοδομεῖν, σπεῖρειν, μετρεῖν· τὸ κλαπὲν εὐρεθῆσεται· καλὸν ἐξέρχεσθαι εἰς κυνηγέσια· τὸ γεννώμενον παράβουλον ἔσται, τρόφιμον, εὐτυχέστερον. This benign influence probably counteracted that of the fifth day of the moon, judged by all authorities to be unlucky. Cf. a Milan codex, *Catalogus*, III (1901), 33: Ἡμέρα ε' τῆς σελήνης. Ἑρμηνεῖα ἐγεννήθη· Κάιν τὰς θυσίας προσήγαγεν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ οὐκ ἑωράθη. ἡμέρα αὕτη παρατηρήσιμος· ἔστι ποσοφορὰς μὴ προσφέρειν μηδὲ εἰς μακροδίαν ὀδεῦσαι· κτλ.; *ibid.*, 39: ε'· ὁ κατακλιθεὶς κινδυνεύει; see also *Catalogus*, IV, 142, a Naples codex, in a similar vein.

⁵¹ *Catalogus*, I (1898), 169, 24.

of Dura clung to their Macedonian names. Alexander, for example, is common. At Seleucia on the Tigris, Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.*, 6, 26, 122) reports the persistence of a Macedonian tradition: *cetero ad solitudinem rediit (Babylon) exhausta vicinitate Seleucia ob id conditae a Nicatore intra nonagesimum lapidem in confluente Euphratis fossa perducti atque Tigris, quae tamen Babylonia cognominatur, libera hodie ac sui iuris Macedonumque moris*. In the second century, the Mesopotamian merchant Maes, whose agents brought the geographer Marinus the first map of the silk route to China, was known as a Macedonian (Ptolemy, 1, 11, 6): Μάην γάρ φησί (Μαρίνος) τινα τὸν καὶ Τιτιανόν, ἄνδρα Μακεδόνα καὶ ἐκ πατρὸς ἔμπορον, συγγράψασθαι τὴν ἀναμέτρησιν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν ἐπελθόντα διαπεψάμενον δέ τινας πρὸς τοὺς Σῆρας.

On the other hand, Μακεδών was common under the Empire as a personal name. It may have been borne at Dura by one of the witnesses in the contract Dura Parchment I.⁵² A leader of Osroenian archers under Maximinus was called Macedon.⁵⁸ I have collected, in the indices to Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, similar instances from Halicarnassus (2660), Aphrodisias (2781), Sardes (3450), Sandukli in Phrygia (9266), and Ancyra (4031). Some of these offer interesting parallels to the Dura nomenclature. The man of Aphrodisias was called Ἀτταλον Μακεδόνας τοῦ Ἀριστεύου τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀπολλωνίδου. In Sandukli there were in one family three sisters, Eugenia, Marcella, and Nonna, and two brothers, Alexander and Macedon.

The double name, however, Alexandros Macedon, offers difficulties. Double names are common where the first is non-Greek, especially with Roman citizens; cf. the Aelius Macedon of Ancyra (*C.I.G.*, 4031) and the M. Aurelius Macedon at Rome (*C.I.G.*, 6557). But double Greek names ran counter to the principles of ancient nomenclature, and it is probably better here to take Macedon as an ethnic. It is not impossible that at Dura as generally in Mesopotamia there was a social class which called its members Μακεδόνες, corresponding, for example, to the Macedonians τῆς ἐπιγονῆς in Egypt.

233. Height above floor, 0.93 m.; length, 0.31 m.; height, 0.31 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m. (average). At Yale; cf. Fig. 4.

There are to be distinguished two texts, in addition to many meaningless lines and single letters (chiefly Ξ). The first may be distinguished in the lower half of the facsimile, overwritten by the second.

⁵² Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 287.

⁵⁸ Herodian 7, 1, 10.

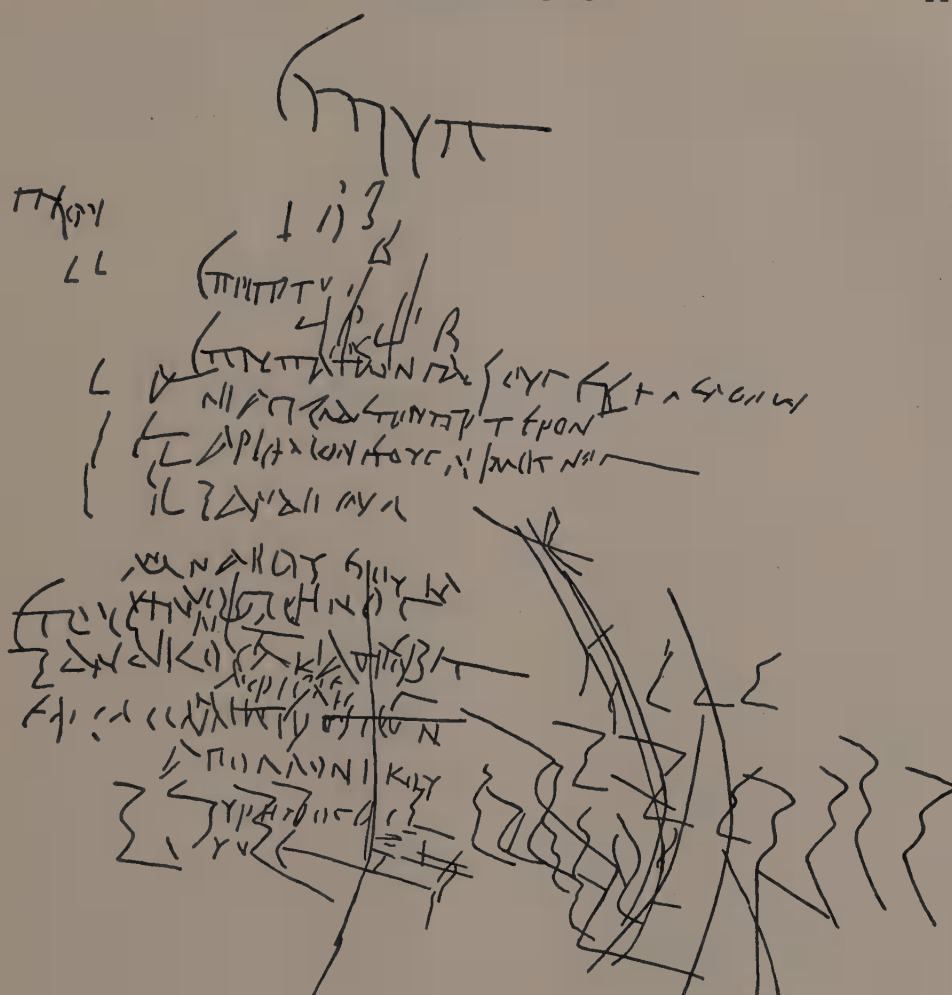


Fig. 4.

(A)

μν(ησθη) Ναβου-
χῆλος

Αὐρήλιος

μν(ησθη)ων (apparently not Μακεδών)

5

Ἀπολλονίου

[A] Ὑρήλιος

[A] Ὑρ[ήλιος]

This is a text similar to No. 191. Probably the thrice written Aure-

lius (cf. No. 195) belongs with the Nebuchelus, and his full name as a burgher enfranchised by the edict of Caracalla was Aurelius Antoninus Nebuchelus. The reading of l. 4 is very uncertain. Certain letters, perhaps part of this text, occur between ll. 2 and 3.

The second text, written in part over the first, is as follows:

		(B)
(in large letters)	ἐπὶ ὑπ(άτων)	
(at left)	Πείου	
	ἐπὶ ὑπάτων	
	ἐπὶ ὑπάτων Γαείου Σεβη. ΕΜ ΟΥ	
5	ΝΙΑΣ ΚΑ(τά?) δὲ τὸν πρότερον	
	ἀριθμὸν ἔτους νφ' μηνός	
	Ξανδικοῦ λ'.	
(below)	ἔτους νφ' μηνός	
	Ξανδικοῦ λ' κατέβη	
10	ἐφ' ὑμῶν Πέρσης.	

The first seven lines of this text are very puzzling. It is, with No. 246, the only instance at Dura of a consular dating, just as it appears to be an entirely fantastic one. The thirtieth of Xandicus of the Seleucid year 550 would have fallen, on the evidence derived from the horoscope (No. 232), approximately on April 20, A.D. 239. The consuls of that year were the Emperor Gordian and Manius Acilius Aviola. Neither of them was a Gaius, neither a Severus, neither (cf. l. 2) a Pius. A Pius (Fulvius Pius) was consul in 238, but no Gaius and no Severus. Maximinus, whose praenomen was Gaius, was consul in 236, and a Gnaeus Claudius Severus was consul in 235. Either l. 4 of the text is completely misread, a possibility not to be excluded in view of the uncertain reading of the beginning of l. 5, or the writer was only amusing himself with typical Roman names.

The lower text, the last three lines, is more important. About the middle of April, A.D. 239, the "Persian descended" upon Dura (whether ὑμῶν or the phonetically equivalent ἡμῶν be understood). The reference is to the new Persian empire of the Sassanid kings, founded by Ardashir in three great victories over the last Parthian king, Artaban, and whose era reckoned from October, 226.⁵⁴ It represented a fanatic and reactionary movement whose object was to propagate the religion of Zoroaster

⁵⁴ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden, aus der arabischen Chronik des Tabari übersetzt* (Leyden, 1879), p. 409.

and to revive Persian nationalism with the overthrow of the Greeks and the philhellenic Parthians. The reckoning with the latter came immediately, and Persian court tradition boasted that the family of Arsaces had been washed away in a river of blood. The reckoning with the former was more difficult. We do not know the fate of the Greeks living within the old Parthian empire; probably they were subjected to a persecution which brought about the subsequent economic decline of Mesopotamia and Babylonia. The Greeks outside the empire were identified with their master, Rome, and against Rome Ardashir in 230 declared war, demanding the return of all that had belonged to Cambyses and Darius. The war which followed is little known. Roman court tradition (the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*) represented the timid Alexander Severus as having won a decisive victory—what should an Alexander do, it suggests, but conquer Persians? Herodian exaggerates in the other direction. Alexander's plan had been to invade Persia in three columns, one marching into Media, one moving down the Euphrates, and the third under his personal command proceeding down the Tigris toward Ctesiphon. This plan, according to Herodian, was not carried through. Alexander, according to his account, held his own division back out of contact with the enemy, until the eastern division had been repulsed and the southern annihilated. The result, which Herodian finds a little awkward to explain, was that Persia submitted and, accepting a peace, remained quiet for "three or four years."⁵⁵ In A.D. 237, Maximinus could boast: Πέρσαι οἱ πάλαι Μεσοποταμίαν κατατρέχοντες νῦν ἡσυχάζουσιν.⁵⁶ It seems clear that something was accomplished by Alexander's campaign, that Persia, if not beaten, was at least checked.

Subsequently, the war was renewed—before the end of Maximinus' reign according to a late tradition.⁵⁷ Certainly Ardashir or his energetic son and co-regent Sapor took advantage of the year of confusion (A.D. 238) to occupy Nisibis and Carrhae in Osroene, and to threaten (or take, as the *Vita* says) Antioch. It is unnecessary, however, to suppose that the Euphrates forts were occupied. Twice before northern Mesopotamia had been overrun, when the Parthian Artaban fought against Caracalla and when Ardashir began his campaign against Alexander, and on neither occasion is there any evidence to show that the Roman occupation of Dura was interrupted. Perhaps the Euphrates forts were too strong; perhaps the Euphrates was a side issue. In any case the Tigris was the principal line of defense and attack.

⁵⁵ A.D. 233; Herodian 6, 6, 6.

⁵⁶ Herodian 7, 8, 4.

⁵⁷ Zonarus 12, 18; Syncellus, p. 681.

The plan of campaign adopted afterward by Gordian and his father-in-law, Timesitheus, shows clearly that the Euphrates forts were continuously in Roman hands. When in 243 they came east to meet the offensive of Sapor, they turned their attention first to the north, winning a battle at Resaena and freeing Osroene. Then they returned and marched down the Euphrates, meeting no opposition as they passed Zaetha and were approaching Dura, not far, as the sources say, from the frontiers of the Empire, at which point Gordian was murdered and honored with a magnificent tomb by his chief of staff, Philip. The line must then have run below Dura, perhaps as now in the neighborhood of Abu Kemal.

In this series of events the Persian "descent" of the spring of 239 is easily understandable. The reference to a specific day suggests a specific event, a battle or the capture of the city. The former, however, implies the presence of a considerable Roman army in the region, for which there is no evidence. The latter is out of the question. Dura, captured at that time, even if it had not been destroyed, could not have been recovered for five years. An occupancy of that length must have left some trace, and it is definitely disproved by the numismatic evidence. No Persian coins have been found in the city which date before 254-56, but coins of Gordian are plentiful.⁵⁸ The true interpretation is furnished by Herodian's description (6, 2, 5) of Persian activity under Alexander. When that peaceful emperor sent Ardashir letters urging him to cease overt acts he accomplished nothing, but the Persian "rather continued actively plundering all the possessions of the Romans and raiding Mesopotamia with foot and horse. He carried off booty and he laid siege to the forts lying on the banks of the two rivers, the outlying defenses of the Roman empire." Such a raid is meant by the present text, disastrous to Dura's flocks and perhaps to a convoy of merchandise from the shelves of Nebuchelus.

234. Height above floor, 1.59 m.; length, 0.13 m.; height, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

ΙϜ	✱ λ'
Α Ι	✱ λη'
ΙϜ Ε Δ	✱ οα'
Β Γ	✱ μα'

⁵⁸ Cf. A. R. Bellinger, "Two Roman Hoards from Dura-Europos," *Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, XLIX (1931).

This is an account of the same character as Nos. 215, 217, 223, and 226, and suggests that the numerals in the second column of those texts also represent denarii. The first column in this text is particularly obscure. The fourth line might be interpreted as $2\frac{1}{3}$, and the second as $1\frac{1}{10}$, but the third line offers no solution.

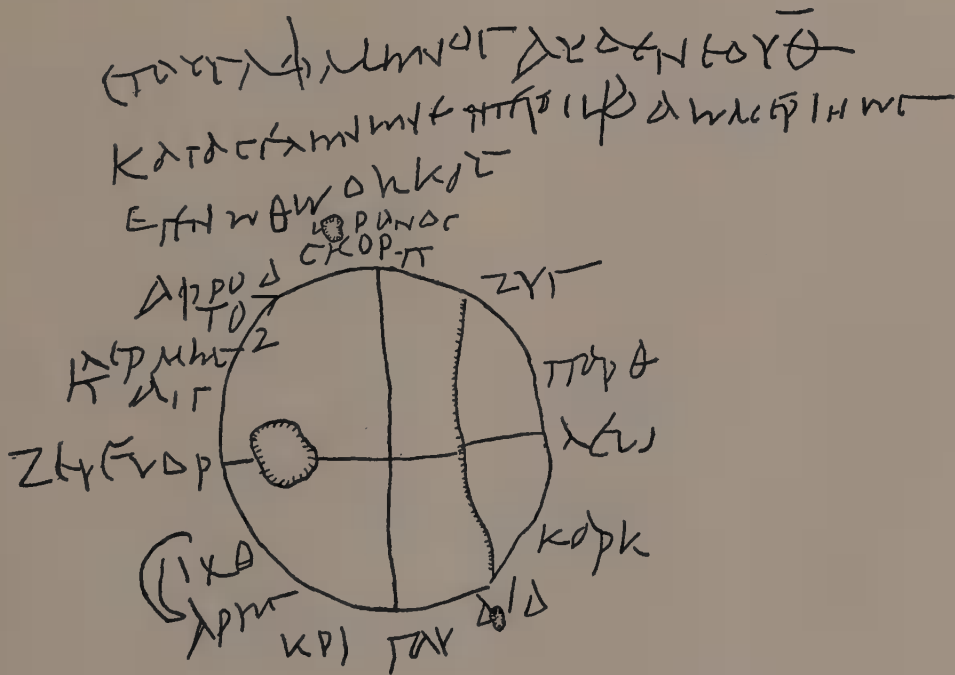
235. Height above floor, 1.01 m.; length, 0.22 m.; height, 0.175 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m. (average). At Yale.

A complete copy of the horoscope, with quartered circle and diagrammatic representation of constellations and planets. It differs from No. 232 only in placing Mars (incorrectly) in Pisces (cf. Nos. 236 and 237). It is preceded by a short version of the legend.

ἔτους λφ' [μηνός] Αὐδυνέου θ'
ὥρ(ας) πρώτης ἡμερινῆς.

In giving the hour of birth (incorrectly) as the first of daylight, it is followed by Nos. 236 and 238.

236. Height above floor, 1.23 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m. (average).

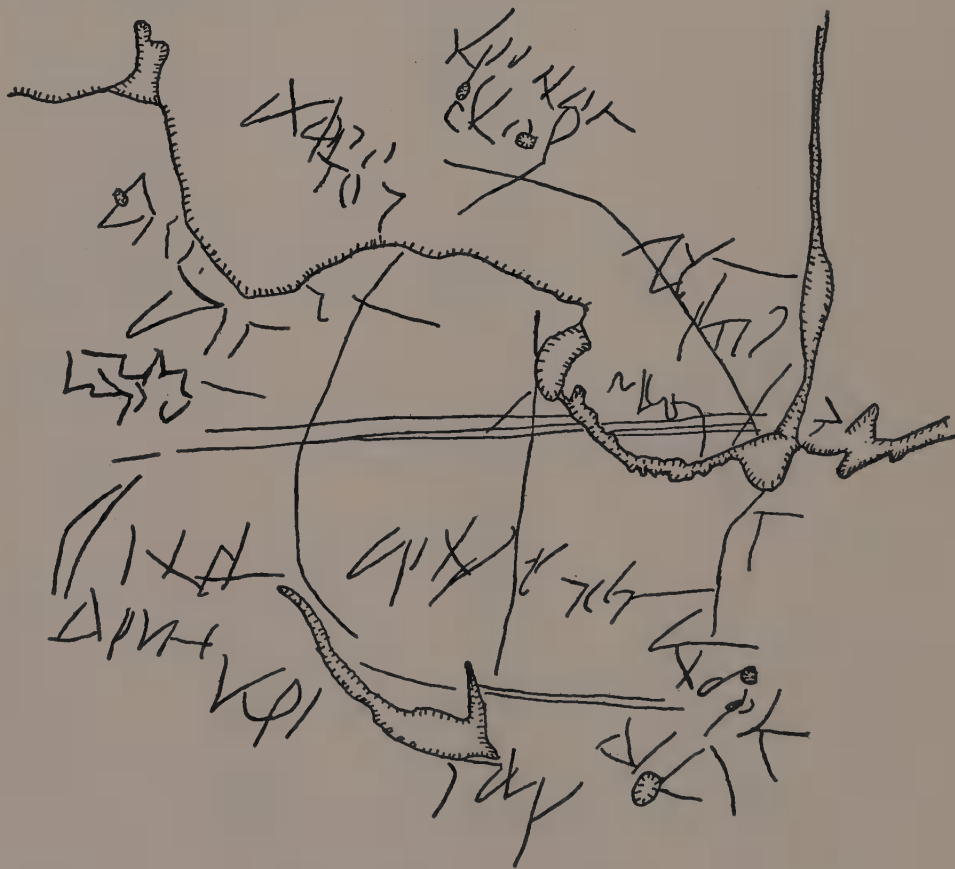


A complete copy of the horoscope, which follows No. 235 in placing Mars in Pisces. Scorpio is abbreviated ΣΚΟΡΠ (so also No. 237), not, as in No. 232, ΣΚΡΟ. The legend is somewhat more full.

ἔτους λφ' μηνὸς Αὐθενέου θ',
κατὰ σελήνην ε', περὶ ὥρ(ας) α' ἡμερινῆς,
ἐγενήθη ΟΚΚΑΣ.

The important word following ἐγενήθη has defied identification, though the letters are reasonably clear, and though apparently the same phrase occurs in No. 238. If the word is a proper name, it could be the Semitic name of Alexander, or of Alexander's otherwise unattested (elder) twin brother. More probably the O is the article ὁ, and the following letters should form a common noun, something like ὁ παῖς.

237. Height above floor, 0.93 m.; length, 0.18 m.; height, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 15 mm.



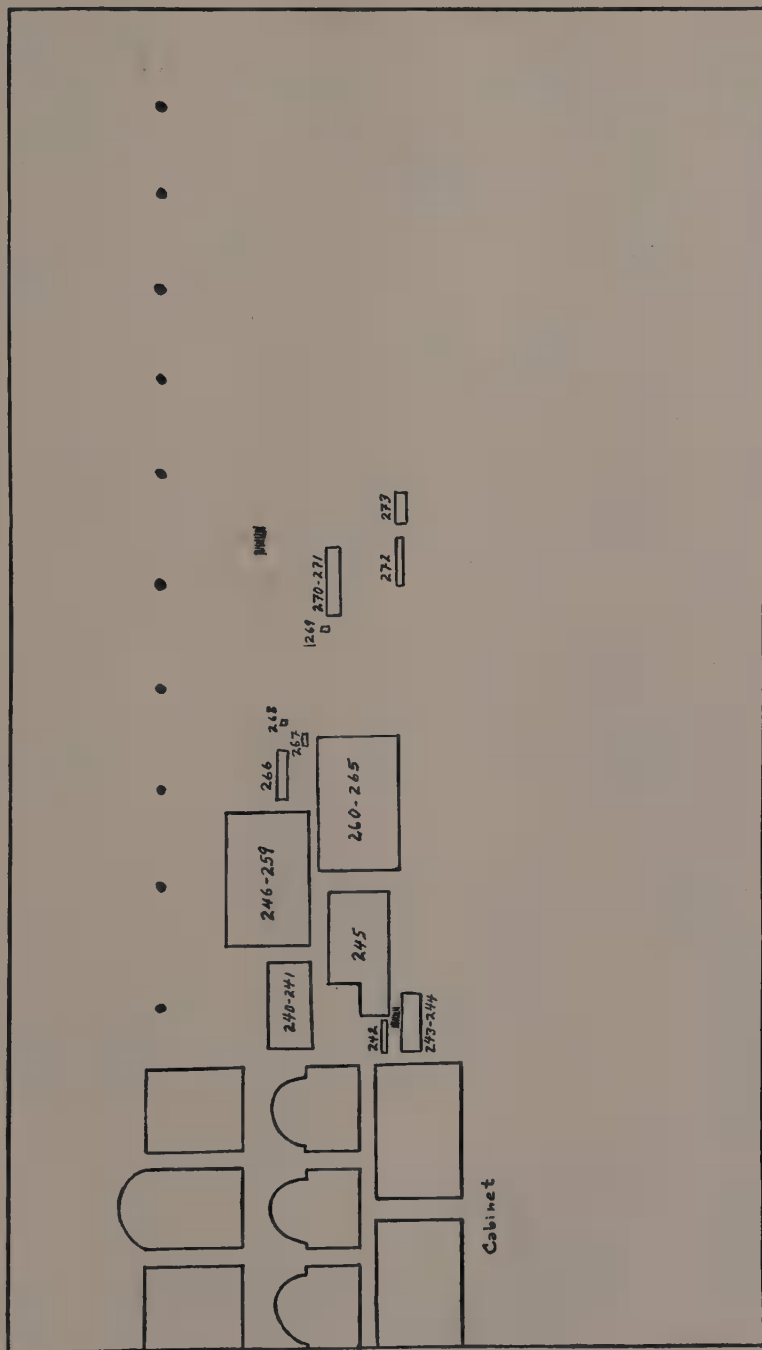


Fig. 5.
West Room. West Wall.

A very badly drawn copy of the horoscope, following Nos. 235 and 236 in the placing of Mars, and without a legend. It is of interest only as furnishing another instance of the notation within the circle, discussed on No. 232 (p. 109). The letters APX are here very clear; ἀρχὴν ἔχεις would not be an impossible reading.

238. Height above floor, 0.79 m.; length, 0.18 m.; height, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

A copy of the horoscope, of which little can be deciphered. The legend is better preserved.

[ἔτους λφ'] μηνὸς Αὐδυνέου θ',
ὥρ(ας) πρώτης ἡμερινῆς, ἐγενήθη
ΟΚΙΣ .

The letters following ἐγενήθη are parallel to those in No. 236, though their appearance is somewhat different. The plaster is here badly weathered, however, and nothing can be considered certain except the O and Σ.

239. Height above floor, 1.41 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

An unfinished copy of the horoscope, without the quarterings or the names of constellations and planets. At the left of the circle occurs the word ἔτους, at the right the beginning of the legend, ἔτους λφ' μηνὸς

.....

Below occurs the numeral,

ρμδ'

The west wall of the same room. The texts are numbered from south to north away from the cabinet (Fig. 5).

240. Height above floor, 1.50 m.; length, 0.13 m.; height, 0.15 m.; height of letters, 7-10 mm., of numerals, 15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 6. *Comptes rendus*, 5.

ἐπὶ ἐξεδιώσθη
ἔλαβεν Μαραβῆλ * ρνβ'
Φραάτη * αρμ'
ἄλλα * χι ς'
5 ἄλλα * αρξ'
[[Φραάτη ἄλλα * αρμ']]
ἔπεμψα εἰς Ἀπάδανα * ς'
γςξη'

An account of disbursements to Marabel⁵⁹ and Phraates, and a cash remittance to Apphadana. The source of the money is explained in No. 241; cf. No. 260. The account almost balances. The receipts, 3,272 denarii (No. 241), are larger by 4 than the disbursements, 3,268 denarii.

The verb in the first line is a mistake for ἐξωδιάσθη, from ἐξοδιάζω, a verb technically used in Egyptian papyrus accounts meaning "to pay out." The verb ἐκδιωθέω, to which ἐξεδιώσθη belongs, can hardly have this meaning. For Apphadana see on No. 221. For ἐπί in l. 1 see p. 100.

241. Height above floor, 1.57 m.; length, 0.17 m.; height, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 7–10 mm., of numerals, 15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 6. *Comptes rendus*, 6.

ἐπί' εἰσήνικα ἐγὼ Νεβου(χῆλος) * βρκ.'

ἐπί' ἔπεμψεν Βάβα'

διὰ Βιμῆλ 'Αδαγαβάρου * ςβ'

διὰ Βαθῆς Χιλινέου * ων'

5 διὰ Βαρνάβου Σημέου * ρ'

An account of income deriving from Nebuchelus and from an agent or customer Baba. The three other persons⁶⁰ mentioned were agents.⁶¹ Cf. Nos. 240 and 260.

⁵⁹ "Bel is my Lord," cf. *Comptes rendus*, p. 177. The name is spelled also Μαριβῆλ, cf. below, p. 144.

⁶⁰ The names are explained by Professor Kraeling as follows: Βιμῆλ—בִּימָה, "Judgment Seat of God" (the word בִּימָה is of course the Greek βῆμα); 'Αδαγαβάρος—אֲדָגָבָר, "Hadad is mighty"; Βαθῆς—cf. 125, bishop of Tela in Osroene, *Anecdota Syriaca*, I (1862), text p. 20, translation p. 119 (the name is transcribed Bathes in Latin); Χιλινέου = Χιλινναίου, Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 63; Barnabus and Simaeus are well known.

⁶¹ The force of the preposition is certain from similar phrases in the papyri. It signifies literally the channel of payment; cf. the parallel idiom, διὰ τῆς τραπέζης. Commonly it is used of officials. Cf. *P. Oxyrh.*, 1515, 1–3 (3d cent.): ἡ 'Οξύρυχιτῶν πόλις διὰ Θεωνείνου τοῦ καὶ Σαραπίωνος ἐνάρχου πρυτάνεως δραχμὰς ι'; so also *ibid.*, 1659 (account of crown tax, 3d cent.) where payments are made for the villages by (διὰ) the πράκτορες; *B.G.U.*, 14, II 18, III 7, etc. (3d cent.). Similarly, a company may deal through a representative. Cf. H. Frisk, *Bankakten aus dem Faiyum*, I, Col. 16 (a receipt addressed to the bank of Dius *et al.*): οἱ ὑπογεγραμμένοι δημόσιοι κτηνοτρόφοι διὰ Θεογίττονος ἀποσυσταθέντος, ἀπέχομεν, κτλ.; cf. W. L. Westermann, C. W. Keyes, *Tax Lists and Transportation Receipts from Theadelphia (Columbia Papyri, II, 1931)*, I, Recto 4, Col. IV, 3/4 (A.D. 155). Precisely the same is the idiom when an individual makes payment through an agent; cf. *P. Oxyrh.*, 1145 (1st cent.); *P. Amherst*, 126, 12 (2d

242. Height above floor, 1.29 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 5-15 mm. At Yale.

ἡμετέρον παρφύρα[ν] λι(τρῶν) ιβ'

ἡμετέρον παρφύρα[ν] λι(τρῶν) ιβ'

Cf. No. 227, III, 1. The house had in stock twelve pounds of purple.⁶²

243. Height above floor, 1.15 m.; length, 0.09 m.; height, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 7 mm. At Yale.

καλλίγια ζ(εύγη) β' μδ'
βα(λα)νάρια β' μη'
λωδίκειν α' λβ'
α' λ ε'
α' λ ε'

καλλίγια ζ(εύγη) β' μδ'
βα(λα)νάρια β' μη'
λωδίκειν α' λβ'
α' λ ε'
α' λ ε'

5

A brief inventory like Nos. 221 and 222. The diminutive καλίγιον of the Latin *caliga* is found rarely in late Greek.⁶³ The *balanarium* has already been discussed (on No. 227, I, 12); for the omission of a syllable here compare the σιχά(ριο)ν of No. 227, II, 7. By the λωδίκιον (λωδίκειν = λωδίκιν) is meant a blanket or cover; it is an equivalent of the περίστρωμα.

244. Height above floor, 1.19 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height, 0.02 m.; height of letters, 5 mm. At Yale; cf. facsimile of No. 243.

This little text was lightly scratched on a thin layer of overlapping plaster; it was much damaged in being removed, and the facsimile shows only part of the original. Interpretation is difficult. The first line

cent.); *ibid.*, 399, 19; *B.G.U.*, 34, II, 4 (2d/3d cent.); *P.S.I.*, 947, 18 (2d cent.); *P. Leipzig*, 93 (2d/3d cent.). Cf. also H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Uppsala, 1932), pp. 31 f.

⁶² It would be possible to read also ρβ', but the total involved becomes then inordinately large.

⁶³ E.g., *P.S.I.*, 886 (4th cent.); cf. Blümner, in *Maximaltarif*, p. 126; *Röm. Priv.*, pp. 226 f.

obliterated two at the end) and two memoranda concerning consignments of wine. Beyond their very bad grammar they contain little that is remarkable. The Marabelus of l. 3 is frequently met as an associate of Nebuchelus, and there is no reason to doubt that the latter is the writer. Balantinus appears again as a remitter of money in No. 264. Of the partners in the purchase of wine, only Malchus⁶⁴ appears elsewhere (No. 248). One consignment was bought for the Dura market, the other for shipment to a place called Banabela. This village, "Built by Bel," may, I think, be identified with the Βαναβῆ of the majority of the manuscripts of Ptolemy, 5, 17, 5. This reading the editors reject in favor of the reading of one manuscript, Βανακῆ, following the argument of Moritz,⁶⁵ but there is little evidence either way. The name Βαναβῆ can only be a shortened form of Βαναβῆλα, and its situation near the mouth of the Chabur (Moritz, *loc. cit.*) fits it well for commercial relations with Dura.⁶⁶ It would have been not far from Apphadana.⁶⁷

The provenience of the wine is not stated, though it was aged (παλαιοῦ, l. 5) and so of a superior quality. Cumont has shown⁶⁸ that Syrian wine was imported into Babylonia, and Strabo in fact states (15, 3, 11) that cultivation of the vine was not practiced there before the Macedonian times. The wine was handled, however, in jars with the Semitic name, *danas*;⁶⁹ the wine came, then, from a region predominantly Semitic, not Greek. It may even have been domestic,⁷⁰ or Mesopotamian.⁷¹

246. Height above floor, 1.52 m.; length, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 5 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

⁶⁴ On the name cf. on Μλῑχος, below, p. 164. The name Ἀνανίς is to be connected with Ἀνανίας (Wuthnow lists a genitive, Ἀνανίδος); Ὀκβασίης is unknown.

⁶⁵ B. Moritz, "Zur antiken Topographie der Palmyrene," *Abh. Ak. Berlin* (1889), I, 38, n. 1.

⁶⁶ The region was populous in ancient times. One other of the towns situated there, Charax (Moritz, *op. cit.*, p. 37, n. 4), may well be the Charax of Dura Parchment X, 6 (*Yale Classical Studies*, II, 6).

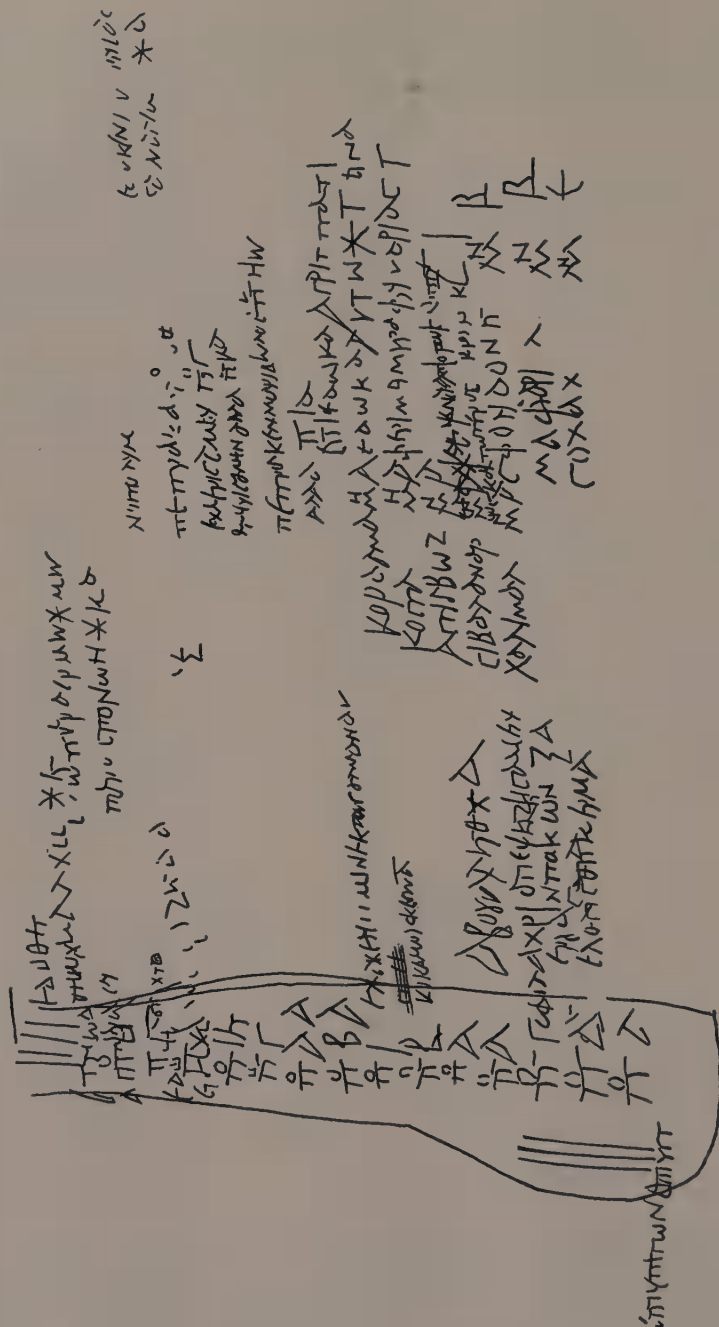
⁶⁷ The identification of Banabela with the Benabil near Aleppo, proposed in the *Comptes rendus*, p. 183, may be certainly rejected. Nebuchelus' commercial relations would not carry so far.

⁶⁸ *Syria*, VIII (1927), 49-52.

⁶⁹ The Aramaic ܕܢܐ, "flagon" (Kraeling).

⁷⁰ Cf. Dura Parchment II, 5 (Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 296-304); cf. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, pp. 35-47, and Pl. III.

⁷¹ Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, V, 914, n. 1; Xenophon (*Anabasis* I, 6, 19) found much wine in the villages by the mouth of the Chabur.



This text, as several others (Nos. 249, 250, 253, 254, 255, 258, 259) on the same part of the wall, is scratched with extreme delicacy, and the strokes, fine and shallow, can be seen only in a good cross light. As the room was excavated, the wall received the morning sun obliquely, and the texts could be read under ideal conditions. Originally, when the house was standing, the wall received daylight only through the door on the opposite side of the room. Probably, then, these texts were written and read by lamplight.

This is an echo of the consular dating of No. 233. The ε of the second ἐπί has been scratched over and resembles θ.

247. Height above floor, 1.51 m.; length, 0.04 m.; height, 0.27 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

πό(κουσ) β'	πό(κον) α' α'	πό(κον) α'
πό(κουσ) γ'	πό(κουσ) β' α'	πό(κουσ) γ'
πό(κον) α'	πό(κουσ) ι'	πό(κουσ) δ'
πό(κουσ) ιη'	πό(κουσ) β'	πό(κον) α'
5 πό(κουσ) γ'	10 πό(κον) α'	

A list of receipts or of shipments of wool, in units of "fleeces."⁷² The list is inclosed by a surrounding line; above and at the left are sets of tallies. The total, 51 fleeces, is ten less than the amount concerned in No. 252, but suggests no parallel with any other text.

248. Height above floor, 1.76 m.; length, 0.1 m.; height, 0.02 m.; height of letters, 7–10 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

ἐδόθη
τῷ Μάλχῳ * η'.

A memorandum of disbursement. Malchus has appeared also in No. 245.

249. Height above floor, 1.71 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 6 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

The text is overwritten by No. 247 and in part by No. 248, and is very faint. It is possible to recognize four lines.

ἐπί ἔδωκα
'Αγρίππῳ
ἔδωκα . . . τ.
εἰς ΔΟΥ δα

⁷² The amount of wool derived from shearing one sheep. Cf. M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Aegypten*, I (1925), 327.

The resemblance to No. 256 is obvious, but the reading is very uncertain, especially in l. 2. Where so few traces are left it is possible to read almost anything. The undotted letters, however, are certain; ll. 1 and 3 may be accepted, and the beginning of l. 4 may reasonably be restored as εἰς Δούραν on the analogy of No. 245, 5.

250. Height above floor, 1.62 m.; length, 0.12 m.; height, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 6 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

ἔλαχεν ἡμῖν ἐκ τοῦ Σαλμάνου
[[σκευ]]
ΚΟΚΟΜΟΙ σκευὴ α'.

The transaction is obscure. What is the meaning of the idiom λαχεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δεινός? One would naturally think of an inheritance, but there is nothing to indicate that Salmanus was dead; he appears also in No. 259. Perhaps he had been intrusted with a commission, of whose profits one share fell "to us" (ἡμῖν). This plural also is curious. The plural among the accounts (e.g., No. 227, II, 1; No. 242) is logically taken to mean Nebuchelus and his partners, Marabelus and Phraates (pp. 100, 138). The ἔλαχεν μοι of No. 258 refers to Nebuchelus' share in the partnership's profits. Here, it would seem, the partnership shared in a larger transaction, receiving on the division σκευὴ μία—"one costume," for σκευὴ should mean a complete outfit of clothing.⁷³ No such item appears elsewhere in the transactions of the house, and it would be of limited value to *three* men, unless to sell. Perhaps the simplest theory would be to interpret ἡμῖν as here equivalent to μοι. Nebuchelus engaged at times in miscellaneous operations resembling those of a pawn shop (Nos. 270, 273), from which conceivably a σκευὴ might derive.

The explanation of the letters preceding σκευή, whose omission in l. 2 was responsible for its erasure, is not certain. Probably the final I should be taken as Υ, making the word a genitive. A connection with κόκκος, "scarlet," and the adjective κόκκινος is not impossible.⁷⁴

251. Height above floor, 1.59 m.; length, 0.09 m.; height of letters, 15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

Ἀβουαλῆθ * δ'.

A disbursement or receipt. The name is unknown.

⁷³ Cf. Herodotus 7, 62, and 66; Andocides 1, 112; etc.

⁷⁴ The reading κοκκίνη seems definitely out of the question.

252. Height above floor, 1.55 m.; length, 0.125 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 5 mm. (average). At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

ἄχρι ἀπεψηφίσαμεν
ἐρίδιν πόκων ξά'
ἐλογίσθη κέρμα.

A record of dealings in wool. The sense would be, "we have bought (or possibly, sold) 61 fleeces; the money was paid"; cf. especially No. 245, 9: ἔδωκα ἐγὼ τὴν τιμὴν. The last line offers no difficulty; λογίζομαι is used in late Greek with the meaning, "to pay."⁷⁵ The first line is puzzling in its use of ἄχρι (it can hardly mean "while" when construed with an aorist) and the compound ἀποψηφίζω; the simple verb is used not uncommonly in the active with the literal meaning, "count."⁷⁶ Paleographically the ΑΠ resembles rather ΑΤΙ, which makes no sense, but the ἀπό compound can be literally rendered, "to count off."

253. Height above floor, 1.74 m.; length, 0.105 m.; height, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 7-10 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

ἔχω παρὰ Ἑρμῇ ✕ μῆ'
παρὰ σιτονῶν ✕ κδ'

The object of this transaction, as is clear from the reference to the σιτῶναι, was grain. Sales of grain (cf. No. 258) had been made to an individual named Hermes and to the board of grain commissioners. The appearance of this board is of particular interest, for it is otherwise unknown at Dura as in fact anywhere outside of Greece and Asia Minor.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Cf. *P. London*, 1708, 150 (6th cent.), and other references in Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

⁷⁶ Cf. Plutarch *Moralia* 141c: δεῖ δὲ μὴ τοῖς ὄμμασι γαμεῖν μηδὲ τοῖς δακτύλοις, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι ψηφίσαντες πόσα φέρουσιν λαμβάνουσιν; Polybius 5, 26, 13; *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, I, 168, 6; a meaning, "to value," is given by E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, s.v.

⁷⁷ These officials were created in the Hellenistic period, but became widespread under the Roman Empire. Their function was to secure for the cities an adequate supply of grain, guarding against the frequent threat of famine. Ultimately, much of their attention was devoted to the distribution of free grain to the populace. Cf. H. Francotte, "Le pain à bon marché et le pain gratuit dans les cités grecques," *Mélanges Nicole* (1905), pp. 135-157; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encycl.*, 2te R., 5 (1927), 396-398; M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im röm. Kaiserreich*, I (1930), 295-297. For the grain situation at Dura cf. also the swastika published in *Rep. II*, p. 147, inscribed on the back, καλοὶ καρποί.

254. Height above floor, 1.69 m.; length, 0.085 m.; height, 0.045 m.; height of letters, 5–8 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7. *Comptes rendus*, 12.

. . ΠΟΛΥΜ
πέπρακα πό(κους) οθ'
ἐμερίσαμεν πό(κους) γ'
ἐμερίσαμεν ἄλλα πό(κους) κα'.

The first line is exceedingly faint; the first two letters are ambiguous, but the M is certainly the last letter written. It probably does not go with the remainder of the text.

The last three lines are a record of a wool transaction. The writer (Nebuchelus) sold seventy-nine fleeces, and divided with his partners (Marabelus and Phraates) twenty-four, eight apiece.

255. Height above floor, 1.66 m.; length, 0.115 m.; height, 0.02 m.; height of letters, 5 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7. *Comptes rendus*, 13.

πέπρακεν Μαριβῆλος πό(κους) νη'
ἄλλα πό(κους) ιδ'.

Two sales of wool executed by Marabelus⁷⁸ for the partnership.

256. Height above floor, 1.62 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 5–10 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

ἐπί ἔδωκα Ἀγριππᾶτι
ἔδωκα αὐτῷ * τ' εἶνα
φέρει μοι μυράφιν ὑδρίας γ'.

Record of a payment of 300 denarii to one Agrippas (No. 249) for the delivery of three jars of myrrh, presumably from the Arabian trade.⁷⁹ The hydria in this case would hardly be the archeological type,⁸⁰ but rather a lecythus;⁸¹ the hydria proper was not used for perfumes. The form μυράφιον, for μύρον, is found elsewhere only in Epictetus, 4, 9, 7.⁸²

⁷⁸ On the spelling of the name see below, p. 144.

⁷⁹ Cf. the reflections of the spice trade in the Palmyra tariff, *O.G.I.S.*, 629, 35–46, 150.

⁸⁰ Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict.*, III, 1, 319–321, s.v.

⁸¹ Aristophanes *Plutus* 810: αἱ δὲ λήκυθοι μύρου γέμουσι.

⁸² Modern editors, as most recently Schenkl (B. G. Teubner, 1894), have rightly accepted the manuscript reading; Schweighäuser, in 1799 (*Epict. Diss. ab Arriano Digest.*, II, 938), proposed to read μυραλείφιον.

257. Height above floor, 1.55 m.; length, 0.21 m.; height, 0.105 m.; height of letters, 5–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.

κόρδαμα μν(ᾱς) α'
 κόστα μν(ᾱς) α'
 ΑΣΝΑΒΩΖ μν(ᾱς) α'
 ΣΙΒΑΛΑΝΑΡ μν(ᾱς) α' κὲ καλίγια ζ(εύγη) ι'
 5 ΧΑΛΙΜΑΛ μν(ᾱς) α' ΣΦΟΝΔΟΝΗ μν(ῶν) β'
 μαφάρια μν(ῶν) β'
 ΣΟΛΑΛ μν(ῶν) ε'

This text borders the preceding below and on the left. Two factors prevent our assuming that it belongs with it: the difference in character and size of the writing, and the fact that the 300 denarii there mentioned would not cover this list of items. There is, also, an interval between the last line of No. 256 and the first of Column II here.

The text consists of a list of articles with prices. In the first two items of Column I one would prefer to take the mina as a measure of weight, but that will not fit the μαφάρια of II, 2. As the number or quantity of the articles is not given, the list probably represents a purchase order, presumably placed with the Agrippas of No. 256. The first two items are well-known spices, κόρδαμον and κόστον, which, like the myrrh of No. 256, would have been imported from the East. The next three items are baffling; I have not been able to identify any of them, though ΣΙΒΑΛΑΝΑΡ suggests a word formation like the Egyptian spice μυροβάλανον, "bath-myrrh,"⁸³ or, neglecting the first two letters, the *balanaria* of No. 227. In the second column, the boots (No. 243) and the veils (*maḗphoria*, see on No. 219) have already been discussed. The meaning of the other two items I do not know. It might be possible to assume that ΣΦΟΝΔΟΝΗ was intended for σφενδόνη, meaning "headband" (Pollux, 5, 96), but both the singular number and the nominative case are impossible.

For the genitive of quantity (μνᾱς, μνῶν) cf. No. 252, 2: ἐρίδιν πόκων ξα'.

258. Height above floor, 1.58 m.; length, 0.1 m.; height, 0.02 m.; height of letters, 5 mm. The text is almost completely obscured by No. 257, II, 1. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7. *Comptes rendus*, 14.

ἐλαχέν μοι ἀπὸ μισθώσε-
 ως κατωτέρας κρι(θῆ) (ἄρταβῶν) κ'.

The force of ἐλαχέν μοι has been discussed under No. 250. The text

⁸³ Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 12, 100.

records Nebuchelus' share of the rental of a plot of land by the river, below the plateau (ἡ κατωτέρα γῆ), owned jointly by him and (presumably) Marabelus and Phraates (p. 138). The sign for ἀρτάβαι, 𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 is known from the Egyptian papyri.⁸⁴

259. Height above floor, 1.73 m.; length, 0.08 m.; height, 0.015 m.; height of letters, 4–5 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 7.⁸⁵

ἔδωκεν Κααννέας
Σαλμάνω * δ'.

Salmanus has already appeared (No. 250). The Caanneas who made this payment (for Nebuchelus; to an agent of Nebuchelus?) is otherwise unknown, and the etymology of his name is uncertain.

260. Height above floor, 1.41 m.; length, 0.26 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 8. *Comptes rendus*, 7.

ἐπ(ί)· εἰσήνικα ἐγὼ Νεβουχῆλος * βρκ'
ἔδωκα Φραάτη * αρμ'
ἀλλα * χιϛ'
ἐπ' ἐπεμψεν Βάβα διὰ Βιμηλ * οβ'
5 διὰ Βαθῆς * ων' ἔλαβεν Μαριβῆλος * ρνβ'

This account is a partial restatement of Nos. 240 and 241;⁸⁶ it lists neither all the receipts nor all the expenses, and it is farther than they from balancing. The combined receipts are here 3,172 denarii, the expenses 1,908.

261. Height above floor, 1.38 m.; length, 0.08 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 8.

ZP
ABBΔBΓE

262. Height above floor, 1.35 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 8.

BBHBA.

Like No. 261, a meaningless collection of letters.

⁸⁴ Cf. F. Bilabel in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.* 2te R., 4, 2305 f., s.v. *Siglae*.

⁸⁵ The graffito was damaged in being removed from the wall. The facsimile shows its actual, not its original, condition.

⁸⁶ I have to thank Professor Westermann for pointing out what I had failed to note, that the disbursements here coincided with some of those in No. 240.

636666 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047 1048 1049 1050 1051 1052 1053 1054 1055 1056 1057 1058 1059 1060 1061 1062 1063 1064 1065 1066 1067 1068 1069 1070 1071 1072 1073 1074 1075 1076 1077 1078 1079 1080 1081 1082 1083 1084 1085 1086 1087 1088 1089 1090 1091 1092 1093 1094 1095 1096 1097 1098 1099 1100 1101 1102 1103 1104 1105 1106 1107 1108 1109 1110 1111 1112 1113 1114 1115 1116 1117 1118 1119 1120 1121 1122 1123 1124 1125 1126 1127 1128 1129 1130 1131 1132 1133 1134 1135 1136 1137 1138 1139 1140 1141 1142 1143 1144 1145 1146 1147 1148 1149 1150 1151 1152 1153 1154 1155 1156 1157 1158 1159 1160 1161 1162 1163 1164 1165 1166 1167 1168 1169 1170 1171 1172 1173 1174 1175 1176 1177 1178 1179 1180 1181 1182 1183 1184 1185 1186 1187 1188 1189 1190 1191 1192 1193 1194 1195 1196 1197 1198 1199 1200 1201 1202 1203 1204 1205 1206 1207 1208 1209 1210 1211 1212 1213 1214 1215 1216 1217 1218 1219 1220 1221 1222 1223 1224 1225 1226 1227 1228 1229 1230 1231 1232 1233 1234 1235 1236 1237 1238 1239 1240 1241 1242 1243 1244 1245 1246 1247 1248 1249 1250 1251 1252 1253 1254 1255 1256 1257 1258 1259 1260 1261 1262 1263 1264 1265 1266 1267 1268 1269 1270 1271 1272 1273 1274 1275 1276 1277 1278 1279 1280 1281 1282 1283 1284 1285 1286 1287 1288 1289 1290 1291 1292 1293 1294 1295 1296 1297 1298 1299 1300 1301 1302 1303 1304 1305 1306 1307 1308 1309 1310 1311 1312 1313 1314 1315 1316 1317 1318 1319 1320 1321 1322 1323 1324 1325 1326 1327 1328 1329 1330 1331 1332 1333 1334 1335 1336 1337 1338 1339 1340 1341 1342 1343 1344 1345 1346 1347 1348 1349 1350 1351 1352 1353 1354 1355 1356 1357 1358 1359 1360 1361 1362 1363 1364 1365 1366 1367 1368 1369 1370 1371 1372 1373 1374 1375 1376 1377 1378 1379 1380 1381 1382 1383 1384 1385 1386 1387 1388 1389 1390 1391 1392 1393 1394 1395 1396 1397 1398 1399 1400 1401 1402 1403 1404 1405 1406 1407 1408 1409 1410 1411 1412 1413 1414 1415 1416 1417 1418 1419 1420 1421 1422 1423 1424 1425 1426 1427 1428 1429 1430 1431 1432 1433 1434 1435 1436 1437 1438 1439 1440 1441 1442 1443 1444 1445 1446 1447 1448 1449 1450 1451 1452 1453 1454 1455 1456 1457 1458 1459 1460 1461 1462 1463 1464 1465 1466 1467 1468 1469 1470 1471 1472 1473 1474 1475 1476 1477 1478 1479 1480 1481 1482 1483 1484 1485 1486 1487 1488 1489 1490 1491 1492 1493 1494 1495 1496 1497 1498 1499 1500 1501 1502 1503 1504 1505 1506 1507 1508 1509 1510 1511 1512 1513 1514 1515 1516 1517 1518 1519 1520 1521 1522 1523 1524 1525 1526 1527 1528 1529 1530 1531 1532 1533 1534 1535 1536 1537 1538 1539 1540 1541 1542 1543 1544 1545 1546 1547 1548 1549 1550 1551 1552 1553 1554 1555 1556 1557 1558 1559 1560 1561 1562 1563 1564 1565 1566 1567 1568 1569 1570 1571 1572 1573 1574 1575 1576 1577 1578 1579 1580 1581 1582 1583 1584 1585 1586 1587 1588 1589 1590 1591 1592 1593 1594 1595 1596 1597 1598 1599 1600 1601 1602 1603 1604 1605 1606 1607 1608 1609 1610 1611 1612 1613 1614 1615 1616 1617 1618 1619 1620 1621 1622 1623 1624 1625 1626 1627 1628 1629 1630 1631 1632 1633 1634 1635 1636 1637 1638 1639 1640 1641 1642 1643 1644 1645 1646 1647 1648 1649 1650 1651 1652 1653 1654 1655 1656 1657 1658 1659 1660 1661 1662 1663 1664 1665 1666 1667 1668 1669 1670 1671 1672 1673 1674 1675 1676 1677 1678 1679 1680 1681 1682 1683 1684 1685 1686 1687 1688 1689 1690 1691 1692 1693 1694 1695 1696 1697 1698 1699 1700 1701 1702 1703 1704 1705 1706 1707 1708 1709 1710 1711 1712 1713 1714 1715 1716 1717 1718 1719 1720 1721 1722 1723 1724 1725 1726 1727 1728 1729 1730 1731 1732 1733 1734 1735 1736 1737 1738 1739 1740 1741 1742 1743 1744 1745 1746 1747 1748 1749 1750 1751 1752 1753 1754 1755 1756 1757 1758 1759 1760 1761 1762 1763 1764 1765 1766 1767 1768 1769 1770 1771 1772 1773 1774 1775 1776 1777 1778 1779 1780 1781 1782 1783 1784 1785 1786 1787 1788 1789 1790 1791 1792 1793 1794 1795 1796 1797 1798 1799 1800 1801 1802 1803 1804 1805 1806 1807 1808 1809 1810 1811 1812 1813 1814 1815 1816 1817 1818 1819 1820 1821 1822 1823 1824 1825 1826 1827 1828 1829 1830 1831 1832 1833 1834 1835 1836 1837 1838 1839 1840 1841 1842 1843 1844 1845 1846 1847 1848 1849 1850 1851 1852 1853 1854 1855 1856 1857 1858 1859 1860 1861 1862 1863 1864 1865 1866 1867 1868 1869 1870 1871 1872 1873 1874 1875 1876 1877 1878 1879 1880 1881 1882 1883 1884 1885 1886 1887 1888 1889 1890 1891 1892 1893 1894 1895 1896 1897 1898 1899 1900 1901 1902 1903 1904 1905 1906 1907 1908 1909 1910 1911 1912 1913 1914 1915 1916 1917 1918 1919 1920 1921 1922 1923 1924 1925 1926 1927 1928 1929 1930 1931 1932 1933 1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 1939 1940 1941 1942 1943 1944 1945 1946 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 1955 1956 1957 1958 1959 1960 1961 1962 1963 1964 1965 1966 1967 1968 1969 1970 1971 1972 1973 1974 1975 1976 1977 1978 1979 1980 1981 1982 1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021 2022 2023 2024 2025 2026 2027 2028 2029 2030 2031 2032 2033 2034 2035 2036 2037 2038 2039 2040 2041 2042 2043 2044 2045 2046 2047 2048 2049 2050 2051 2052 2053 2054 2055 2056 2057 2058 2059 2060 2061 2062 2063 2064 2065 2066 2067 2068 2069 2070 2071 2072 2073 2074 2075 2076 2077 2078 2079 2080 2081 2082 2083 2084 2085 2086 2087 2088 2089 2090 2091 2092 2093 2094 2095 2096 2097 2098 2099 2100 2101 2102 2103 2104 2105 2106 2107 2108 2109 2110 2111 2112 2113 2114 2115 2116 2117 2118 2119 2120 2121 2122 2123 2124 2125 2126 2127 2128 2129 2130 2131 2132 2133 2134 2135 2136 2137 2138 2139 2140 2141 2142 2143 2144 2145 2146 2147 2148 2149 2150 2151 2152 2153 2154 2155 2156 2157 2158 2159 2160 2161 2162 2163 2164 2165 2166 2167 2168 2169 2170 2171 2172 2173 2174 2175 2176 2177 2178 2179 2180 2181 2182 2183 2184 2185 2186 2187 2188 2189 2190 2191 2192 2193 2194 2195 2196 2197 2198 2199 2200 2201 2202 2203 2204 2205 2206 2207 2208 2209 2210 2211 2212 2213 2214 2215 2216 2217 2218 2219 2220 2221 2222 2223 2224 2225 2226 2227 2228 2229 2230 2231 2232 2233 2234 2235 2236 2237 2238 2239 2240 2241 2242 2243 2244 2245 2246 2247 2248 2249 2250 2251 2252 2253 2254 2255 2256 2257 2258 2259 2260 2261 2262 2263 2264 2265 2266 2267 2268 2269 2270 2271 2272 2273 2274 2275 2276 2277 2278 2279 2280 2281 2282 2283 2284 2285 2286 2287 2288 2289 2290 2291 2292 2293 2294 2295 2296 2297 2298 2299 2300 2301 2302 2303 2304 2305 2306 2307 2308 2309 2310 2311 2312 2313 2314 2315 2316 2317 2318 2319 2320 2321 2322 2323 2324 2325 2326 2327 2328 2329 2330 2331 2332 2333 2334 2335 2336 2337 2338 2339 2340 2341 2342 2343 2344 2345 2346 2347 2348 2349 2350 2351 2352 2353 2354 2355 2356 2357 2358 2359 2360 2361 2362 2363 2364 2365 2366 2367 2368 2369 2370 2371 2372 2373 2374 2375 2376 2377 2378 2379 2380 2381 2382 2383 2384 2385 2386 2387 2388 2389 2390 2391 2392 2393 2394 2395 2396 2397 2398 2399 2400 2401 2402 2403 2404 2405 2406 2407 2408 2409 2410 2411 2412 2413 2414 2415 2416 2417 2418 2419 2420 2421 2422 2423 2424 2425 2426 2427 2428 2429 2430 2431 2432 2433 2434 2435 2436 2437 2438 2439 2440 2441 2442 2443 2444 2445 2446 2447 2448 2449 2450 2451 2452 2453 2454 2455 2456 2457 2458 2459 2460 2461 2462 2463 2464 2465 2466 2467 2468 2469 2470 2471 2472 2473 2474 2475 2476 2477 2478 2479 2480 2481 2482 2483 2484 2485 2486 2487 2488 2489 2490 2491 2492 2493 2494 2495 2496 2497 2498 2499 2500 2501 2502 2503 2504 2505 2506 2507 2508 2509 2510 2511 2512 2513 2514 2515 2516 2517 2518 2519 2520 2521 2522 2523 2524 2525 2526 2527 2528 2529 2530 2531 2532 2533 2534 2535 2536 2537 2538 2539 2540 2541 2542 2543 2544 2545 2546 2547 2548 2549 2550 2551 2552 2553 2554 2555 2556 2557 2558 2559 2560 2561 2562 2563 2564 2565 2566 2567 2568 2569 2570 2571 2572 2573 2574 2575 2576 2577 2578 2579 2580 2581 2582 2583 2584 2585 2586 2587 2588 2589 2590 2591 2592 2593 2594 2595 2596 2597 2598 2599 2600 2601 2602 2603 2604 2605 2606 2607 2608 2609 2610 2611 2612 2613 2614 2615 2616 2617 2618 2619 2620 2621 2622 2623 2624 2625 2626 2627 2628 2629 2630 2631 2632 2633 2634 2635 2636 2637 2638 2639 2640 2641 2642 2643 2644 2645 2646 2647 2648 2649 2650 2651 2652 2653 2654 2655 2656 2657 2658 2659 2660 2661 2662 2663 2664 2665 2666 2667 2668 2669 2670 2671 2672 2673 2674 2675

263. Height above floor, 1.44 m.; length, 0.23 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 8. *Comptes rendus*, 8.

ἔλαβεν Μαραβῆλος μν(ᾶς) οδ' ✕ λδ'.

This text, whose position would suggest a connection with No. 260, concerns the largest sum of money noted on the wall, 7,434 denarii. Reckoning by minas and denarii was common under the Empire; cf. the references from Palmyra cited, *Comptes rendus*, p. 179, n. 1, and M. Fränkel, *Inscr. von Pergamon*, 374. It is, of course, possible also that the units indicate weight, not value.

264. Height above floor, 1.22 m.; length, 0.19 m.; height, 0.12 m.; height of letters (ll. 1–3), 7–10 mm. (ll. 4–8), 10–15 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 8. *Comptes rendus*, 15.

λόγος· ἐπὶ ἔλαβα ἀπὸ Βαλαντίου·

Ναβουχήλω ✕ ρν'

Γερμάνω ✕ κδ'

εἰς κρέας ✕ ιθ'

5 κόκκην ✕ κθ'

εἰς ἀσκός ✕ [.]

εἰς κριθήν [*] ρνβ'

εἰς κρέας ✕ γ'

There is an interval between ll. 3 and 4, and subsequently the writing is larger. It is probable that two texts should be distinguished. The former is an account of money received from Balantinus (No. 245), which was divided unequally between Nebuchelus (undoubtedly the writer here also) and an otherwise unknown Germanus. The latter is an account of expenses; the meat (ll. 4, 8) and barley (l. 7) were intended, perhaps, for home consumption, the scarlet⁸⁷ and the skin bottles (ἄσκος = ἀσκούς) for commercial purposes.

265. Height above floor, 1.3 m.; length, 0.18 m.; height, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 16 mm. At Yale; cf. Fig. 8.

Ο ΔΑΔΒ

ΑΑΒΑΔΒΒΕ.

A collection of miscellaneous letters written across ll. 1–5 of No. 264.

⁸⁷ κόκκην = κόκκιν = κόκκιον; on the use of scarlet as a dye, cf. No. 250.

266. Height above floor, 1.58 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 8-10 mm. At Yale.

ἄμμα(τα) κενὰ οὐεῖλλα στα(τήρων) ηγ'
 ψέλλια στα(τήρων) κγλ'

H

An item probably relating to Nebuchelus' activity as a lender of money against security (Nos. 270, 273). He records the fact that he has necklaces of hollow gold (or better "new"; κενά = καινά),⁸⁸ but of an inferior quality (οὐεῖλλα for the Latin *vilia* ?), to the value of $8\frac{1}{3}$ staters or approximately 167 denarii, and bracelets to the value of $23\frac{1}{2}$ staters or approximately 470 denarii. The meaning of the H of l. 3 to the rest of the text does not appear.

267. Height above floor, 1.52 m.; length, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. At Yale; cf. facsimile of No. 266.

γβ'.

The number 3,072.

268. Height above floor, 1.58 m.; length, 0.01 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

ἐπ(ί).

The *item* sign (p. 100).

269. Height above floor, 1.45 m.; length, 0.01 m.; height, 0.035 m.; height of letters, 7 mm.

Δ
 ΚΔ
 Κ

⁸⁸ A gold necklace of beautiful workmanship has been found at Dura in the excavations of 1931-32.

An account like Nos. 215, 217, 223, and 226.

270. Height above floor, 1.41 m.; length, 0.085 m.; height, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 5–8 mm. At Yale. *Comptes rendus*, 9.

ἔχω π/στ/ς
 μητ(ή)ρ Φραάτου * λβ'
 γυνή Μαραβήλ * η'

ἔχω πίστις

ἡ μητ(ή)ρ Φραάτου * λβ'

γυνή Μαραβήλ * η'.

A memorandum of loans against security; πίστεις is to be taken, as No. 273 shows, in the sense of material pledges, τὰ πιστά. Women of the families of Phraates and Marabelus had borrowed from Nebuchelus small sums of money; the second pawn may have been “the ring” of No. 273.⁸⁹

271. Height above floor, 1.42 m.; length, 0.11 m.; height, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 5–10 mm. At Yale; cf. facsimile of No. 270.

ἐπ(ί)· ἔχω παρὰ Ἀζανίθ [[τὴν]]
 τιμὴν πό(κων) ιδ'.

Record of the sale of fourteen fleeces of wool to an otherwise unknown Azanith. The reason for the erasure of τὴν in l. 1 does not appear.

272. Height above floor, 1.20 m.; length, 0.145 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 7–10 mm. At Yale. *Comptes rendus*, 11.

ἔχωμεν ἐρίδιν πό(κων) 9η'
 κὲ ἐπράθησαν πό(κοι) ογ'.

A memorandum: ninety-eight fleeces of wool on hand, seventy-three fleeces sold.

⁸⁹ The meaning of ll. 2, 3 is, ἡ μητὴρ (γυνή) ἔλαβε * λβ' (η').

273. Height above floor, 1.19 m.; length, 0.105 m.; height, 0.045 m.; height of letters, 7–10 mm. At Yale. *Comptes rendus*, 10.

ἔχω πίστις ἐγώ
 ἄμμα * δ'
 τὸ δακτυλίδιον * η'.

A record of two pawns (πίστεις) on which money had been lent. The necklace was of insignificant value (cf. No. 266). The ring may be the eight denarius pledge of the wife of Marabelus (No. 270).

The east wall of the room contains only two texts, both ambiguous.

274. Height above floor, 1.62 m.; length, 0.19 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 10, 15, 20 mm.

There may be distinguished the twice written ἀπό, the second followed by what may be ἐκέχρηται (better ηἵται), and the numeral κ'. The numerals in the second line are unintelligible.

275. Height above floor, 1.47 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.27 m.; huge letters, from 0.02 m. to 0.11 m.

ΡΑ δα(?) γ'.

ΑΙ

Ε

The abbreviation in the first line is marked in the usual way, by the writing of the α above the δ (for δαδία ? cf. No. 224).

C. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. *Date of the Graffiti.*

In contrast with the inhabitants of Dura in general, the writer of the graffiti in the House of Nebuchelus had very little interest in chronology. Among the ninety-five texts listed above, only ten contain dates of any sort. Certain considerations, however, make it possible, I think, to date the archives rather closely.

It is obvious that the graffiti of the west room (12) constitute a set of archives. All the evidence points to the fact that they belong to one comparatively brief period. In a number of cases a coarser text has been written above an earlier, finer one, but it is unnecessary to assume a long interval of time between them. Although the hands vary somewhat in detail, especially in the formation of H, they all belong to one period and may very well be the work of one writer. The names mentioned in the texts, and the transactions recorded by them point to the activity of one business man. This conclusion is borne out by the physical condition of the walls. The preservation of the plaster is perfect, the finest lines of writing are legible, and there are almost none of the scrawls, scratches, and drawings which are so common in Dura wherever owners ceased to feel a pride in their buildings or neglected to guard them. These walls contained commercial jottings, records of transactions too unimportant to be written on papyrus or parchment. Memoranda of such ephemeral value would not have been protected for long. Either the owner would have made no effort to restrain the tendency, ubiquitous at Dura, for children, servants, and citizens alike to write their names or to indulge their artistic fancy on every available surface, or, in view of the comparative cheapness of plaster—the common rock at Dura is gypsum—he would presently have had the walls resurfaced. It is a natural inference that the graffiti of the west room belong all to one period, a period not long before the abandonment of the building.

The several copies of the horoscope furnish the most exact and the earliest date, December 11, A.D. 218. This was the birthday of Alexander the son of Apollonicus. But the text cannot have been inscribed at that time. Alexander was, as far as our evidence goes, no blood relation of Nebuchelus, the owner of the house. The drawing of six or seven copies of the horoscope, moreover, points to an event of greater consequence than the birth of an infant. It has been found possible to date the casting of the horoscope in A.D. 235 (p. 96), when Alexander was

something over sixteen years old. On the theory that he was Nebuchelus' son-in-law, this date may tentatively be accepted. With the Persian raid of 239⁹⁰ as an approximate *terminus ante quem*, the graffiti of the archives may reasonably be assigned to the period 235–240.

The graffiti of other parts of the house present a less simple problem. A number, notably those of the vestibule, may on the evidence of proper names (cf. Nos. 191 and 196) be assigned to the same period as the archives. The texts of the east room (5) remain apart; the use of Roman numerals and the lack of known proper names place them in a group by themselves, which should perhaps be dated earlier, before the fire from which the west room seems to have been reclaimed (p. 80).

2. *The Prosopography of the House.*

It has been assumed in the preceding pages that the House of the Archives was the house of Nebuchelus. That he was, if not the owner, certainly the occupant of the house is a conclusion justified by the archives of the west room. Many of the texts contain expressions in the first person, singular (Nos. 220, 227, 228, 241, 245, 249, 253, 254, 256, 258, 260, 264, 270, 271, 273) and plural (Nos. 227, II, 1, 242, 250, 252, 254, 272). In three cases (Nos. 227, 241, 260) the first person singular of the verb is followed by ἐγὼ Νεβουχῆλος; in one case (No. 273) by ἐγὼ alone. The connection of Nebuchelus with the house is further attested by three μνησθῆ texts (Nos. 191, 230, 233A). One text (No. 264) contains his name in the dative case, but the transaction is a special one; it is the only place where he specifically lists his own profit. In the absence of further evidence, I believe the hypothesis is reasonable that the "I" or "we" of all texts is written from his point of view; that he was the writer of the archives and the man whose transactions they record.

It is possible to know something of him. The μνησθῆ text, No. 233A, contains the several times written Αὐρήλιος. Nebuchelus, then, seems to have become a Roman citizen through the Edict of Caracalla; to him would refer the Aurelius Antoninus of the *tabula ansata* (No. 195). He would then have been previously a full burgher of Dura, and afterward of the Colonia Aurelia Antoniniana Europus (*Rep. III*, D. 149). He had a son, as we learn from a μνησθῆ text, whose name was Abdochelus (No. 191). His relationship to Alexander Macedonius the son of Apoloni(c)us, the subject of the horoscopes, has been several times referred

⁹⁰ No. 233; this event is reflected in the ἐπὶ ὑπάτων of No. 246 and the Ξανδικοῦ of No. 182.

to. The same $\mu\eta\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ text (No. 191) equates Alexander with Abdochelus, and it appears that they were contemporaries. The simplest hypothesis is that Alexander was a son-in-law. As a member of one of the old Macedonian first families of Dura, he would have traded his social connections for the material advantages at the command of Dura's leading man of affairs.⁹¹ Who may have been the Aromandrus of No. 191 is quite uncertain; probably the text is not yet correctly read.

Nebuchelus' activities brought him into contact with many persons. Most frequently mentioned is Marabelus. He seems to have had the right to draw upon common funds. In No. 240 (cf. No. 260) he took ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\nu$) a sum of money from returns of Nebuchelus and others. In No. 263 he took similarly a larger sum of unstated origin. In No. 255 he sold independently two consignments of wool. In No. 245, on the other hand, Nebuchelus received from him 100 denarii, and in No. 270 his wife contracted with Nebuchelus a small loan against security. He is perhaps best regarded as an informal sort of partner.⁹² He may be in many cases meant when Nebuchelus wrote "we."

With Marabelus is twice associated Phraates (Nos. 270 and 240/260, which refer to the same transaction), but there is a difference. Marabelus took ($\epsilon\lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\nu$) his sum; his was given to Phraates (No. 240, 3-5). That the sum received by Phraates was the very much larger is not material. He may have been a purchasing agent (e.g., in Apphadana; cf. No. 240, 7); he may have been a financial backer. His mother, however, like the wife of Marabelus, did once (No. 270) borrow a small sum of money on security.

⁹¹ The relations between Alexander and Nebuchelus might be explained more simply on the hypothesis that the Semitic inhabitants of Dura did on occasion, for their own amusement or as a display of their learning, adopt Greek equivalents of their Semitic names. This was done elsewhere. Cumont (*Fouilles*, pp. 200 f.) has observed that by the Greeks, the Babylonian Nebu was equated with Apollo. The name Barnebu, "the son of Nebu," is once translated Apollinarius, "he of Apollo" (at Islahiyeh in north Syria; Humann and Puchstein, *Reise in Nord-Syrien*, p. 398) and it is not incredible that Nebuchelus, "Nebu is mighty," should be translated Apollonius, whence by manipulation comes Apollonicus. But Alexander cannot be a translation of Abdochelus, and it would be very curious to have the Greek name of the father used only, and exclusively, in connection with the Greek name of a son. In the lack of one statement, $\text{Νεβουχ\eta\lambda\omicron\varsigma \delta' \kappa\alpha\iota 'Απολλώνιος}$, this hypothesis must be considered only an interesting possibility.

⁹² The growth of the formal and legally defined partnership in antiquity is little known. Cf. M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft*, pp. 140 f., 141, n. 33.

Joined with Nebuchelus in the purchase of wine (No. 245) were two otherwise unknown persons, Aninis and Ocbasies, and a third, Malchus, who on another occasion (No. 248) was the recipient of 8 denarii, presumably on the account of Nebuchelus. A Germanus is elsewhere (No. 264) given 24 denarii; it is possible that he also may have been a partner in a particular enterprise. Salmanus was once given 4 denarii (No. 259); his part in No. 250 is obscure. Cf. also the Aboualeth of No. 251.

Two persons are mentioned who may be considered agents. Agrippas (No. 256; cf. No. 249) was definitely commissioned to make a purchase. When Caanneas gave money to Salmanus (No. 259), he did so presumably on the account of Nebuchelus.

Two names may be definitely classified as those of customers. Hermes (No. 253) and Azanith (No. 271) were purchasers of wool. Probably Baba (Nos. 241, 260) was an out-of-town customer, living perhaps in Apphadana. He can have received such a shipment of textiles as No. 227, and have remitted the payment through the hands of his (or Nebuchelus') agents: Bimel the son of Adagabarus, Bathes the son of Chilinæus, and Barnabus the son of Simæus. Whether Balantinus (Nos. 245, 264) was a customer or agent does not appear.

The position of Sadamsas (No. 215), Nicophon (No. 229), and Abimmelus (No. 244) is as uncertain as the interpretation of the texts in which they figure.

The east room (5) offers very few names. The Arrianus Antoninus of No. 203 is unknown. Elsewhere Babiles and Heraclas (No. 211) and Mannus (No. 213) receive small sums of money for reasons unknown.

The vestibule records the interest in the house of the Palmyrene Aeranes son of Males (No. 190), and of a Semite, Maththanath (No. 192).

3. *The Business Activity of the House.*

From the business texts should be distinguished the private accounts of household expenses. These occur chiefly in the east room, and so perhaps antedate the activity of Nebuchelus. Most of them are simply lists of comestibles (barley, meat, wine, and oil) with prices (Nos. 202, 204/205, 213). Two (Nos. 211, 213) record payments to individuals, one the purchase of a cloak (No. 199), one receipts of hay (No. 201), one collections for the Roman military *annona* (No. 200), one is uncertain (No. 207). The west room is represented by only two items: No. 264

lists household supplies, but among them is scarlet dye; No. 224 mentions torches (possibly No. 275 also).

Barley was raised on land owned jointly with others by Nebuchelus (No. 258). Sale of some part of it is recorded in No. 253. Trade in barley is perhaps the subject of the text from the east room, No. 209. If there are 470 donkey loads under consideration, the trade was considerable, but there are no other commercial texts in that room, and the interpretation is uncertain.

Trade in raw wool, natural in a grazing region,⁹⁸ is frequently mentioned in the graffiti of the archives (west room). One text (No. 247) is simply a list of fleeces (receipts?). The others (Nos. 252, 254, 255, 271, 272) record sales. As the purchase of wool is never mentioned, it was probably derived from the flocks owned individually by Nebuchelus or jointly by him with Marabelus or others.

Perhaps the house spun and wove and made garments. Certainly that activity was carried on at Dura for Nebuchelus and his associates. Twice (Nos. 227, III, 1, 242), purple dye was recorded in his possession; once, scarlet dye was purchased (No. 264).

Textiles constituted the largest part of the trade of the house. As their purchase is never mentioned, the goods should have come from looms in its employ. Large consignments are itemized in Nos. 219 and 227, smaller ones in Nos. 221, 222, and 243. One type of garment, perhaps more, appears in the miscellaneous list No. 257.

Boots are twice mentioned in lists of articles for sale (Nos. 243, 257).

Unguents of various sorts were imported, apparently for retail distribution in Dura (Nos. 256, 257).

One text (No. 245) records two purchases of wine of unstated provenience in which Nebuchelus was interested. One consignment was brought to Dura, the other shipped up the river to Banabela.

Two texts bear certain witness to Nebuchelus' readiness to loan small sums of money on security (Nos. 270, 273); in one (No. 273), the security consisted of a necklace and a ring. A text (No. 266) which records the possession of necklaces and bracelets of a considerable value may best be explained on the theory of further activity of the same sort.

4. *Prices of Goods.*

The evidence of the archives for prices at Dura may be presented in tabular form.

⁹⁸ Cf. *Comptes rendus*, pp. 181-183, 183, n. 1.

<i>Article</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Price</i> (denarii)	<i>Price per article</i> (denarii)
ἀναβόλαιον (cloak)	No. 227, I, 4	2	46	23
	13	2	46	23
ἀνίκλιον (trousers)	No. 227, I, 2	2	47	23½
	3	2	46	23
	6	2	46	23
βαλανάριον (cloak or robe)	No. 227, I, 12	2	55	27½
	17	2	35	17½
	No. 243, 2	2	48	24
δελματική (robe)	No. 221, 2	1	60	60
	No. 222, 3	1	40	40
	No. 227, I, 14	2	60	30
	II, 8	2	35	17½
ἐπικάρσιον (unknown garment)	No. 227, I, 7	4	107	26¾
καλίγια (boots, per pair)	No. 243, 1	2	44	22
κολόβιον (robe)	No. 227, II, 3	2	35	17½
κολόβιον δελματικόν	No. 227, II, 2	2	44	22
λωδίκιον (blanket)	No. 243, 3	1	32	32
	4	1	36	36
	5	1	36	36
μακρόχειρον (robe)	No. 227, I, 8	4	64	16
παιδικόν (tunic)	No. 222, 1	1	13	13
	No. 227, I, 16	1	3 (or 13)	3 (or 13)
παιδικόν				
ψεγόμενον (tunic, damaged)	No. 227, I, 18	4	11	2¾
πάλλιον (robe)	No. 222, 9	1	90	90
σουδάριον (kerchief)	No. 227, I, 5	7	42	6
	9	4	15	3¾
στιχάριον (tunic)	No. 227, II, 7	1	10	10
τολάριον (blanket?)	No. 227, I, 10	2	50	25
	11	3	42	14
φακιάλιον (kerchief)	No. 227, II, 4	2	24	12
χλανίδιον (tunic)	No. 199	1	3	3

These are the articles for which prices can be determined. They show that at Dura in A.D. 240 there had not yet begun the great inflation of the currency which culminated in the *καινὸν νόμισμα* of Claudius the Goth (A.D. 268–70) and the fantastic figures of the Edict of Diocletian. It would be of interest to compare these prices with those for like articles in Egypt, thus having a basis for determining the relative levels of prices and quality of goods. The evidence on prices in antiquity was col-

lected ten years ago by A. Segré,⁹⁴ but his table of clothing prices (pp. 160 f.) contains nothing that is contemporary.

It may be of interest to tabulate also the amounts expended on other items, where the quantity purchased, and so the price, is unknown.

<i>Article</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Amount in denarii</i>
ἄρτος (bread)	No. 200, 1	3
ἀσκοί (skin bottles)	No. 264, 6	—
ἐλαιον (oil)	No. 202, 2	5
	No. 204, 2	8
	No. 213, 5	11
κόκκιον (scarlet)	No. 264, 5	29
κρέας (meat)	No. 213, 4	4
	No. 264, 4	19
	8	3
κριθή (barley)	No. 200, 3	12
	No. 204, 3	2
	No. 213, 2	1
	No. 264, 7	152
οἶνος (wine)	No. 200, 4	4
	No. 213, 6	4
σῖτος (wheat)	No. 200, 2	10

Although no extensive conclusions can be based on these figures, it is evident that life at Dura was comparatively inexpensive.

5. *The Economic Position of Dura*, A.D. 235–40.

This topic is one which is better treated from a wider viewpoint, but it may be desirable to summarize the general conclusions which were set forth in the *Comptes rendus*, pp. 187 f.

The House of Nebuchelus may reasonably be held representative of Dura in the period covered by the graffiti. It had what was for trade the most desirable situation in the city, with a frontage on both the *decumanus* and the *cardo maximus*, under the shadow of the Triumphal Arch. To both streets it presented a series of shops, where the goods of Nebuchelus might be offered to the buying public. The arcade, on the *decumanus*, should have been a favorite place for loungers, protecting them from the sun in summer, but admitting its warmth during the winter months. The *cardo* must have been always thronged, running as it did between the bazars and the temples of Atargatis and of Artemis

⁹⁴ *Circolazione monetaria e prezzi nel mondo antico ed in particolare in Egitto* (1922).

Nannaia. The House of Nebuchelus must have enjoyed whatever trade the city afforded.

That trade, however, was small. In spite of the versatility of Nebuchelus, which led him into six different types of enterprise, his total investment in any one is inconsiderable. The largest transaction in textiles involved only 872 denarii. The receipts of No. 241 were 3,272 denarii. The order or inventory involving the unguents (No. 257) amounted to no more than 1,400 denarii. Ownership of a small area of barley land by the river was shared with others. The most characteristic enterprises were those involving only a few denarii.

This situation is consonant with that just before noted, that the cost of living at Dura was very low. The city which had been an important and flourishing caravan city, wealthy enough to employ in the first and second centuries excellent artists for the frescoes of the temple of the Palmyrene gods, had become only a frontier fortress, subsisting mainly by and for itself. It is significant that no echo of the caravans appears in these texts. Dura, like the rest of Mesopotamia, prosperous under the Parthians, was wasting away under the rivalry and the military exigencies of the Romans and the Sassanian Persians.

6. *The Language of the Graffiti.*⁹⁵

(1) ORTHOGRAPHY

- a. Silent ι is always omitted.
- b. ι for η: φέρι (No. 256, 3).
- c. η for ι: κόκκην (No. 264, 5); Σημέου (No. 241, 5).
- d. ει for long ι: κρειθή (Nos. 200, 3; 209, 2; elsewhere correct); Νεικοφών (No. 229); οὔειλλα (*vilia*, No. 246, 1).
- e. ει for short ι: εἰδιόχρουν (No. 227, II, 7); Γαείου (No. 233, B, 4); λωδίκειν (No. 243, 3); εἶνα (No. 256, 2).
- f. ι for ει: μακρόχιρα (No. 227, I, 8); λανχάνι (No. 245, 6, 8); πίστις (Nos. 270, 1; 273, 1).
- g. υ for η: ὕμων (No. 233, B, 10; or may be correct).
- h. ε for αι: κέ (Nos. 190, 2; 245, 4, 4, 6, 7, 7, 7, 9; καί in No. 227, II, 6, only); ἔλεν (Nos. 202, 2; 204, 2; 213, 5); πεδικόν (Nos. 222, 1; 227, 1,

⁹⁵ It is too early to draw general conclusions concerning the Greek spoken and written at Dura. That must follow the reading and interpreting of the papyri and parchments found during the last campaign, and take into consideration all the earlier texts. It has seemed worth while here, however, to summarize the linguistic evidence of a body of texts so much a unity as the Archives of Nebuchelus.

16, 18); ἀναβόλεα (No. 227, I, 4, 13); Αὐδινέου, etc. (Nos. 232, 235, 236, 238); Χιλινέου (No. 241, 4); Σημέου (No. 241, 5); παλεοῦ (No. 245, 5); perhaps κενά = καινά (No. 266, 1).

i. α for ο: μαφάριν (Nos. 219, 4; 257, II, 3); παρφυροῦς (No. 219, 7, 10); παρφύρα (No. 242; but πορφύρα in No. 227, III, 1).

j. ο for α: κόρδαμα (No. 257, 1).

k. ε for α: κοίτες (No. 227, II, 5; the late accusative ending).

l. ο for ω: Ἀπολλωνίου (No. 232; Ἀπολλωνίου in Nos. 196; 233, 6; perhaps analogy of Ἀπολλώνιος); σιτονῶν (No. 253, 2).

m. ω for ο: ἔχωμεν (No. 272, 1).

n. ο for ου: ἐρινός (No. 219, 2, 3, 4; for the contract form ἐρινοῦς); μέρος (No. 245, 9; genitive singular); ἀσκός (No. 264, 6; accusative plural).

o. ρο for ορ: σκορπίος (Nos. 232, 235; but σκορπίος in Nos. 236 and 237).

p. λ for λλ: πάλιν (No. 219, 12; πάλλιν in No. 222, 2).

q. λλ for λ: καλλίγια (No. 243, 1; καλίγια in No. 257, II, 1).

r. κ for κκ: κοκόμου (No. 250, 3; uncertain).

s. ν for νν: ἐγενήθη (Nos. 232, 3; 236, 3; 238, 2).

(2) MORPHOLOGY

a. The diminutive ending -ιον is always reduced to -ιν.

b. The neuter περίστρωμα is replaced by the masculine περίστρωμος (No. 227, II, 6).

c. For περυσινός, περσυνός is used (No. 222, 4, cf. *P.S.I.*, 50, 12, end of fifth century).

d. The endings -ιος and -ικος are varied in Ἀπολλώνι(κ)ος (No. 191, 2, only, has -ιος).

e. The endings -ιος and -ινος are varied in Βαλαντί(ν)ος (No. 264, 1, only, has -ιος).

f. The place name is variously spelled Ἀφφάδανα (No. 221, 1) and Ἀπάδανα (No. 227, I, 1; No. 240, 7).

g. The month name Αὐθναῖος is spelled variously Αὐδινέος (No. 232), Αὐδυνέος (Nos. 235, 238), and Αὐθενέος (No. 236).

h. The spelling Μαραβήλος is used four times (Nos. 240, 2; 245, 3; 263; 270, 3), Μαριβήλος twice (Nos. 255, 1; 260, 5).

i. The spelling Νεβουχήλος is used four times (Nos. 227, I, 1; 230, 3; 241, 1; 260, 1), Ναβουχήλος three times (Nos. 191, 1; 233, A, 1; 264, 2).

j. The genitive of Ἑρμῆς is Ἑρμῆ (No. 253, 1).

k. The aorist of φέρω is variously ἦνικα (Nos. 241, 1; 260, 1), ἦνινκα (No. 228, 1), and ἦνεκα (No. 198, 3; doubtful).

l. The α ending for the first person singular is used regularly in second aorists: ἦλθα (No. 228, 1); ἔλαβα (Nos. 245, 1, 2; 264, 1).

m. The same analogy has extended to the imperfect tense in εἶχαμεν (No. 227, II, 1).

n. The perfect of ἄγω is ἄγωγα (No. 245, 4).

(3) GRAMMAR

a. The conjunction κέ (καί) is used for τε in No. 245, 4.

b. The accusative is once construed with ἀπό (No. 245, 2; perhaps a mistake of writing).

c. A mistake of gender is made in No. 245, 9; τήν τιμήν . . . πάντα, unless the πάντα is adverbial (cf. πρώτα, No. 227, II, 1, and ἄλλα, *passim*).

*Other Buildings.*⁹⁶

A. THE PALACE ON THE REDOUBT (C 1)

Room north of the corridor east of the interior court (room Q).

276. North wall, east of door. Height above floor, 1.91 m.; length, 0.31 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m. Pl. XX, 1.

Ἀλέξας Παπίου

Alexas is a new name at Dura, but a Papias is known from an inscription on a seat in the temple of Artemis (Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 57, pp. 412 f.) and from No. 341, below.

277. Above. Height above floor, 1.97 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

ΛΥΩΜ

Perhaps an incomplete text, λύωμ(εν), for example.

278. West wall of the same room. Height above floor, 1.38 m.; length, 0.18 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.03 m.

A scrawl, sloping to the right, of which the first letters may be ΑΘΗ, but which should have contained at least eleven letters in all.

The corridor (room N).

⁹⁶ Cf. above, p. 79, n. 2.

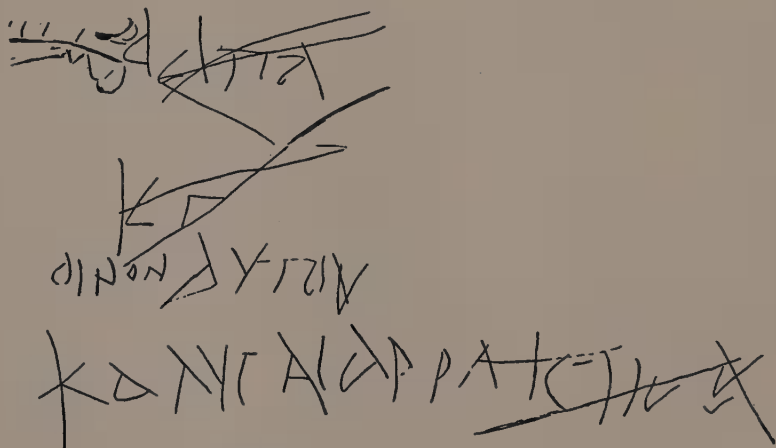
279. On the south wall. Height above floor, 1.32 m.; length, 0.345 m.; height of letters, 0.04–0.05 m.

*Αθηνις

A new name at Dura, though names based on Athena are common. It is possible that the name should be interpreted *Αθήνι(ο)ς.

The vestibule leading from the exterior to the interior court (room F). Its walls are lined with benches.

280. On the west wall, under the forelegs of a horse (indicated on the upper left of the facsimile). Height above bench, 0.54 m.; length, 0.29 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.03 m.



ΔΑΠΑ

ΚΓ

ΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ

ΚΑ ΛΥΣΑΣ ΑΡΡΑΙΣΠΛΑ.

Though no place would be more unlikely for the posting of a private account than the anteroom of a public building, this item strongly resembles one. It might tentatively be reconstructed as follows:

δαπά(ναι) or (λόγος) δαπα(νῶν)⁹⁷

δγ' (=τῆς τρίτης καὶ εἰκοστῆς ἡμέρας)

(εἰς) οἶνον αὐτοῦ (meaning obscure)

κδ' Λυσ[ί]ας (e.g., ἔλαβε)

⁹⁷ Cf. *B.G.U.*, 466, 1 (2d/3d cent.).

The absence of any notation as to the sums expended, however, makes this interpretation entirely conjectural.

281. On the east wall. Height above bench, 0.70 m.; length, 0.26 m.; height of letters, 0.12–0.18 m.

KOPΔ[

This text was read by Mr. A. McN. G. Little as KOPΔXOS. This cannot be Semitic, but might perhaps be explained as *Kόραχος* = *Kόρακος*, the genitive of the personal name *Kόραξ*; the fourth letter is, however, certainly a Δ. Possibly the piece should be restored as *κόρα[μον]* (as in No. 257); cf. the mention of wine in No. 280.

282. Farther to the south. Height above bench, 0.54 m.; length, 0.09 m.; height of letters, 15 mm.



Possibly the personal name *Πουμάς*; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 125, 7; *Rep. I*, pp. 46 f.

283. Farther to the south. Height above bench, 0.58 m.; length, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.



Perhaps a personal name, B[ο]ρίας, for example.

An anteroom (D) opening south from the *liwan* (A) west of the interior court. Against the south wall stands a high bench or table. The room may have been used for the storing, preparation, or serving of food.

284. On a piece of plaster fallen from the north wall. Size unrecorded.

*Avva.

The Semitic name, Anna, was hitherto unknown at Dura.

285. On another piece of plaster from the same wall. Size unrecorded.

EIK[

286. On the north wall. Height above floor, 1.49 m.; length, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 15 mm.

[Σέλ?] ΕΥΚΟΣ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΟΥ'.

A memorandum like No. 259. The unit of reckoning may or may not be monetary.

287. On the south wall. Height above table, 0.68 m.; length, 0.25 m.; height, 0.10 m.; height of letters, 0.04–0.05 m.

πέρνας
ιδ'

A memorandum: "14 hams." The Latin *perna* is used as a Greek word also in *P.S.I.*, 683, 33 (A.D. 199).

288. Below. Height above table, 0.39 m.; length, 0.13 m.; height, 0.15 m.; height of letters, upper lines, 0.04 m., lowest line, 0.03 m.

Γέρμα[νος]
Ἀλλα[μo]ς
Βαρνέ[ος]

Three familiar Semitic names. Germanus has been met in No. 264. Barnaeus is familiar at Dura.⁹⁸ Aelamus is here found for the first time, but it is common elsewhere.⁹⁹

289. To the right. Height above table, 0.49 m.; length, 0.31 m.; height, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m. (0.04 m.).

⁹⁸ Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 121, 5; Inscription 127, 9; *Rep. II*, D. 3, p. 116.

⁹⁹ Wuthnow, *Semitischen Menschnennamen*, p. 15.

... ΚΟΛ/Ε ΚΙ=Ι ΚΑΔ
 ΚΕΙΒΑΡΙΑ ΛΗ
 Τ/ΠΟΤ/ΚΑΙ ΘΑΙ Π=Ι
 () () () () () ()

κολίσκια κδ'
 κειβάρια λη'
 . . ε . . . καθαρά ι'
 προγε . . . α

(in larger letters)

The first three lines comprise an inventory of comestibles. The last, which suggests nothing so much as προγέγονα, is a later addition whose meaning is quite uncertain.

The κολίσκια of l. 1. ι is a neuter formation (κολίσκιον) from κολ(=καυλ)ίσκος, a diminutive of καυλός = the Latin *caulis* or *colis*, "cabbage." The vocalization of the first syllable is due to Latin influence, for Greek does not confuse ο and αυ.¹⁰⁰ Pure Latin is the second item, *cibaria*, "grain." The third item is probably to be read κρε[ι]θή καθαρά, barley unmixed with foreign matter; cf. *P. Florence*, 72, 12 (second century). The nominative case (if the third item is correctly interpreted) is unusual, but parallel to No. 200. The amounts are probably units of quantity, not of price.

290. Below. Height above floor, 0.39 m.; length, 0.25 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

[ι]χθίδια κ'.

A similar memorandum: "20 fish."¹⁰¹

The north portico (3) of the exterior court ("Esplanade"). The walls are lined with benches.

¹⁰⁰ It would be possible also to connect κολίσκιον with κωλή (cf. No. 295, 4), but there are no intermediate forms.

¹⁰¹ For the form cf. No. 232; υ and ι were equivalent sounds.

291. On the north wall, east of the door into the vestibule. Height above bench, 0.83 m.; length, 0.11 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

εἰς θεός.

This formula is used of Serapis¹⁰² of Men, of Mithras, even of the Emperor Julian,¹⁰³ but regularly with the name of the god added. I should expect to find the same thing true if the formula were used in Persian monotheism, for which there is in fact no evidence. On the other hand, εἰς θεός is a very common Christian formula,¹⁰⁴ and after the discovery during the campaign of 1931-32 of a Christian chapel at Dura dating before A.D. 240, there is no reason to avoid interpreting this as a Christian inscription. Torrey has already suggested a Christian interpretation for a Semitic inscription, *Rep. III*, pp. 68-71.

292. Farther to the east. Height above bench, 0.54 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

ε[Ις] θε(ός)

Cf. the preceding text.

293. On the east wall, near the corner. Height above bench, 0.47 m.; length, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

Βάβα

B. THE HOUSE OF THE FRESCOES (C 7 f)

The *liwan* (room 4).

294. On the east wall, between the door (leading to room 3) and a lamp niche. The plaster is coarse and rough. Height above floor, unrecorded; length, 0.165 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m. At Yale.

¹⁰² Cf. the collection of texts and many references in O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Serapis-Religion* (1919), pp. 14, 17-30.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 23; *C.I.L.*, III, Suppl. 2, 14175.

¹⁰⁴ *Sammelbuch*, 1573, 1578, 1580, 1596, 2685; *P. Oxyrh.*, 1056, 10 (4th cent.); H. Grégoire, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques Chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure* (Fasc. I, 1922), 253 (Aphrodisias, 4th cent.), 271 (Aphrodisias, 5th/6th cent.). See further the exhaustive treatment of the formula by E. Peterson, *Εἰς Θεός, Epigraphische, formgeschichtliche und religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Göttingen (1926).

LEG III CYR

LEG(10) III CYR(ENAICA).

The *Legio Tertia Cyrenaica*, during the first Christian century stationed in Egypt, had been added to the Roman forces in the province of Arabia by Hadrian. It took part in the campaign of Lucius Verus, Caracalla, and Alexander Severus, and numerous epigraphical records of its presence have been found in the Hauran and Mesopotamia.¹⁰⁵

295. At the right of the niche. Height above floor, 1.35 m.; length, 0.08 m.; height, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 8-10 mm. At Yale.

Λ' ΙΓ
 Λ' ΙΓ
 ΚΗ
 ΑΛΔΓ
 Η
 ΑΥΑΔΙΝ
 ΑΥΑΔΙΝ
 ΑΥΑΔΙΝ
 ΑΥΑΔΙΝ

[οΙ]νος
 λά[χ]αν[α]
 [φ]ακῆ
 κολᾶς
 5 ΣΧ . . .
 γλυκάδιον
 λάχανα
 οἶνος
 γάλα

¹⁰⁵ Cf. the excellent presentation and summary of the evidence by W. Kubitschek in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.*, XII, 2 (1925), 1506-1517, s.v. *Legio*.

The absence of prices or amounts in this list leads one to think of a menu, but the duplication of items (ll. 1 and 8, 2 and 7) and general probabilities favor its interpretation as an order or inventory. The items are all prosaic: "wine, greens, lentils, hams,, sweetmeat, greens, wine, milk." The fourth item, $\kappa\omicron\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ for $\kappa\omega\lambda\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$, is suspicious as standing in the accusative case (cf. $\sigma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\varsigma$) but the letters are clear. The diminutive $\gamma\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$ is otherwise known only as a gloss in Hesychius. The item of l. 5 is uncertain; it is possible to think of $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\iota$, "mastich toothpicks," but the first two letters are not really certain.

296. On the south wall, east of the frescoes. Height above floor, 1.45 m.; length, 0.02 m.; height, 0.085 m.; height of letters 12 mm.

MP (or IMP)

.Λ

ΙΘΛ

NO

5 SO

A text of unknown significance. It is complete and fairly clear, but the mixture of Greek and Roman letters is puzzling. It is tempting to read in l. 1, IMP(ERATOR).

297. Below. Height above floor, 0.87 m.; length, 0.09 m.; height, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 7-12 mm.

An illegible text in seven lines, overwritten by some larger and unrelated letters.

298. Below. Height above floor, 0.73 m.; length, 0.2 m.; height, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.01, 0.02, 0.03 m.

Ἀλέξανδρος

Ἀλέξανδρος

ΤΑΛΛ . . ΟΣ

On the name Alexander see above, p. 83, n. 6. The reading in l. 3 is uncertain, though the letters are clear. Before the O is a small hole in the plaster, above which there remains the upper part of a letter resembling a narrow, pointed Θ; it cannot be A, Δ, or Λ, as in these letters the right diagonal stroke projects well above the left.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Professor Kraeling observes that in Aramaic *talath* means "three," *taltha* means "third." Tallatha may then be a translation of the proper name Tertius.

299. On the south doorpost of the room west of the court (room 6), cut deeply into a slab of gypsum which may have once been covered with plaster. Height above threshold, 0.65 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

‘Ραγηαδάδ[ο]ς
τβ’.

The numeral in l. 2 should be a date, year 302 of the Seleucid Era, or 11/10 B.C. In that case there is no objection to identifying Rhageadadus with the man of the same name, whose daughter Rhigutai in A.D. 61/62 dedicated a seat in the chapel of the temple of Artemis.¹⁰⁷

C. THE HOUSE ADJACENT ON THE SOUTH (C 7 g)

300. A room opening west of the second court (g^s 19); on the east wall, north of the doorway. Height above floor, 1.16 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height, 0.69 m.; height of letters, 15–20 mm. (above), 8–10 mm. (below). In two adjoining pieces. At Yale; cf. Fig. 9.

(1st Hand) [. . .]ENA
[. . .]AIMA
[. . .]ΚΘΑ
[. . .]ΕΑΦΑΘΑ
5 [. . .]ΑΕΙΑΘΑ
[δε]λματικ[?]
[κο]λόβια
[μο]νομα[λλο?]
[. . .]ΕΡΝΙΝ[
10 [. . .]ΕΙΦ[.]Α[
[μο]ν[ο]μ[αλλο?]
[.]ΛΘΑ[
κολόβια π[
λινούδιον
15 βύρρον
λαυδικη(α) β’
ΤΡΙΦΑΕΙΑΕΑΖ
κεράμη(α) β’

¹⁰⁷ Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 114, pp. 438 f.

ΕΝΔ
 ΑΜΑ
 ΙΘ
 ΦΘ
 ΧΘ
 ΑΑΤΗ!
 ΙΚΑ
 ΧΟΛΑ
 ΕΛΛΗΝ
 ΤΑ Α
 Ν Ν
 (upper fragment)

ΛΑΔ
 ΚΟΔΟΒ/ΑΤ
 ΑΙΙΟΔΙΗ
 ΒΧΡΡΟΙΥ
 ΛΑΥΛ, ΚΗ Β
 ΠΙΡΔΗΔΑΖ
 ΚΕΡΔΜΗ Β
 ΠΡΟΣΚΕΦΑΔΔΙΝ
 ΚΛΖΔΕΛΛΥΤΙΚ
 ΕΥΕΙΠΣΗ ΑΔΤΡ,
 , , ΕΙΩΜΑΤΡ/Ρ
 ΠΡΟΣΚ ΦΑΔΔΙΝ
 ΠΡΟΣΚΕΦΑΔΔΙΝ ΙΣΡΗΤΗ
 ΤΙΟΥΚΕΛΑΙΥ ΒΟΗΔ
 ΑΤΤΟΤΡΟΣΚ ΕΟΝ ΜΚ
 ΙΙ. ΕΡΔΙΗ Β
 ΕΙΤΙ ΙΙΤΤ ΤΤ
 ΤΤΡΑΔΕΡ ΝΒ
 (lower fragment)

Fig. 9

- (2d Hand) προσκεφαλᾶδια
 20 κ[ο]λ[ό]β(ιον) δελματικ(όν)
 ΚΑΙ . . ΦΑΕΙΘΑΠΡ . [
 (interval of 2 cm.)
 [πε]ριστρῳμ(?) τριβ(ακ?)
 προσκ[ε]φαλᾶδιν
 προσκεφαλᾶδιν ΙΣΦΗΝΗ
 25 προσκεφαλᾶ(δια) βόηα
 ἄλλο προσκ(εφαλᾶδιν) ΣΟΜΜΑΚΑ
 τυλάρ(ια) λιν(ῃ) β'
 ἄλλην τύλαν(?)
 τετραδέρμ(ατα) β'

This list, apparently an inventory of household property,¹⁰⁸ has proved unexpectedly difficult to interpret, though the writing is generally clear and well preserved. No letters are ambiguous in shape except A and Δ as written by the first hand. In a few places, especially at the beginning of ll. 17 and 21, the surface of the plaster is badly weathered,¹⁰⁹ and the letters as indicated are very uncertain. Ll. 9, 10, and 12 are also badly preserved. But the difficulty is caused more by ambiguity of the spelling or the unusual character of the articles listed than by the physical condition of the graffito.

The majority of the articles are textiles, and one is reminded of the inventories of the House of Nebuchelus, particularly Nos. 219 and 227. Most of the items have there been met; for the dalmatic (6), the colobium (7, 13, 20; a dalmatic colobium was listed in No. 227, II, 2), the *monomallus*, the *prosccephaladium*, and the *peristroma*, cf. on No. 219; the *laudicium* is probably the same as the *lodicium* of No. 243 (cf. κολίσκια = καυλίσκια, No. 289, 1). The other items identified are well known. The *linudium* is a linen shirt, frequently met in the Egyptian papyri after the third century.¹¹⁰ The *byrrus*¹¹¹ was a hooded cape, introduced in the Roman world in the second century and subsequently employed as a vestment in the early church.¹¹² The word *tylarium* is a

¹⁰⁸ Cf. particularly the worn blankets of l. 22.

¹⁰⁹ The complete house was excavated in 1931-32, but this room was carelessly dug in the interval 1923-28 by soldiers stationed at Salihyeh. The resultant exposure had injured this text, and almost completely destroyed No. 301.

¹¹⁰ Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.

¹¹¹ The vocalization of the first syllable varies between I, Y, and U.

¹¹² Cf. E. Kornemann, *P. Giessen*, 76, 4, note; Blümner, in *Maximaltarif*, pp. 113,

diminutive of *τύλη*, "cushion"; both words appear first under the Roman Empire, the latter in the second century, the former in the third.¹¹³

The identified articles which are not textiles are two, the *κεράμεια* ("dishes") of l. 18 and the *τετραδέρματα* of l. 29. The former, if the word is correctly read, calls for no comment. The latter is more interesting. The word occurs elsewhere only once, in *P. Oxyrh.*, 1294, 4 (second/third century). That text is a letter referring to a miscellaneous shipment of goods. The writer directs the person addressed to receive from a messenger, among other things, a number of *τετραδέρματα* and a *ἱμάτιον*. The editors translate as parchment quaternions, adding no comment. That meaning is readily derived from the Greek word, but the reference is not at all clear. The quaternions were certainly not designed for bookmaking,¹¹⁴ nor were they finished books. The relative cost of parchment and the lack of parallels prevent our supposing that they were notebooks for household use.

Among the lines which have not been interpreted, certain parallels suggest that the same words or items may have occurred several times. Cf. the ΘΑ of ll. 3, 4, 5, 12, and 21; the ΦΑ of ll. 4, 10(?), 17, and 21; the ΑΕΙΑ (= the ending -αία?) of ll. 5 and 17, and the ΑΕΙ of l. 21. The words at the ends of ll. 24 and 26 should be adjectives, corresponding to the βόηα (= βόεια, "leather") of l. 25, but no interpretation suggests itself although the letters are relatively clear. If l. 28 is correctly read, and the reading seems certain, *τύλαν* would be for *τύλην*, perhaps on a Latin analogy like the *δελματικά* of No. 219, 2 (cf. also note on No. 227, II, 7).

301. On the south doorpost of the same wall. Height above floor, 1.78 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

κερά[μηα?]
 προσ[κεφαλαδι?]
 ΣΑ[

This text was a companion piece of No. 300. Their top lines are the same height above the floor, 1.85 m., and 0.25 m. below the lintel. The distance from the edge of the door frame is the same. There is every reason to suppose that this text was of the same length as No. 300 when

152; Wilpert, *Gewandung*, pp. 18 f.; Leclercq, *Manuel*, pp. 86 f.; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, 2 (1910), 907-910; Blümner, *Röm. Priv.*, pp. 218 f.

¹¹³ Preisigke, *op. cit.*, s.v.

¹¹⁴ W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern* (1921), pp. 114-123.

the room was cleared (p. 155, n. 109), but a careful search of the *débris* on the floor failed to disclose any further fragments.

D. A HOUSE IN THE NEXT BLOCK TOWARD THE SOUTH (C 8)

Not yet excavated. (C 8 f, perhaps; it is opposite the temple of Atargatis.)¹¹⁵ A few rooms of this and the next house were partly cleared in the same manner as the room containing Nos. 300 and 301 (p. 155, n. 109).

302. In the eastern of two rooms partly excavated, on the west wall north of a door. At the level of the top of the door; length, 0.20 m.; height, 0.35 m.; height of letters, 0.03–0.06 m.

KH
KE KB KΔ
IΘ

Numerals, perhaps dates, suggesting texts, Nos. 215, 217, 223, 226, and 234, above.

E. THE HOUSE ADJACENT ON THE SOUTH (PERHAPS C 8 g)

303. In a room partly excavated, in the northwest part of the house, near the entrance(?). On the south wall, over a graffito of a male figure. Height above floor, 1.22 m.; length, 0.19 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m.

θεὸς ὁ

Perhaps Christian. Cf. εἰς θεὸς ὁ νικῶν, *Sammelbuch*, 1580; εἰς θεὸς ὁ βοηθῶν, *ibid.*, 1596.

304. Below. Height above floor, 0.88 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 15 mm.

νέος

The interval, and the difference in the writing, do not perhaps make impossible an association with the preceding:

θεὸς ὁ νέος—"the new god."

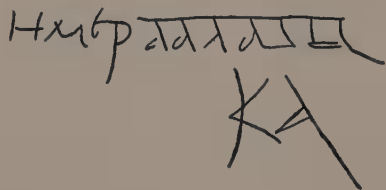
305. On the north wall, west of the pilaster. Height above floor, 1.34 m.; length, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 0.04–0.065 m.

BHΛΘP

¹¹⁵ This is the house of the horoscope published by Johnson, *Rep. II*, pp. 161–164.

Perhaps the beginning of a proper name; formations with Βήλ as their first element are common.¹¹⁶

306. On a piece of plaster now fallen from the pilaster. Height above floor (original), 1.34 m.; length, 0.26 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm. (l. 2, 0.07 m.).¹¹⁷



ἡμέρα Ἀδάδου
κα'

The last two letters of l. 1 are unsatisfactory, but the reading may perhaps be accepted. The reference to a day of the week is parallel to that in Nos. 220, 232, 235, etc., but it is extraordinary to have the patron god Semitic, not Greek.¹¹⁸ Hadad, however, was associated at Dura in the cult of his wife Atargatis. The Greeks identified him, as the storm god, with Zeus,¹¹⁹ and his week day should be the same.

307. Below. Height above floor, 1.1 m.; diameter of circle, 15 mm.

A quartered circle, with a letter in each quadrant: in the lower left-hand quadrant an O, elsewhere C. The diagram is apparently the same as that on the armor of the *cataphractus* (Pl. XXI, 3).

F. A BLOCK OF HOUSES

Now intercommunicating but once perhaps distinct, south of the Palace on the Redoubt (D 7).

308. The house on the northeast (D 7 a), in a room to the right of the entry (room 6). On the west wall. Height above floor, 0.87 m.; length, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 0.03–0.04 m.

ΑΒΓΔΕΗΘ
ΙΚΑΜΝΟΞ
ΤΠ

¹¹⁶ Wuthnow, *s.v.*; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 199 n. 9.

¹¹⁷ This facsimile, as that of No. 312, are based not on tracings or on photographs, but on copies only.

¹¹⁸ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 199; *Rep. III*, pp. 100–139.

¹¹⁹ *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, XVI (1892), 161 (Delos); *C.I.L.*, VI, 117 and 399 (Rome). Cf. R. Dussaud in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.*, VII, 2157, *s.v.*

An abecedarium (cf. Nos. 362, 363, etc.), which is neither complete nor correct.

309. Below. Height above floor, 0.83 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 15–30 mm.

BABIA.

Perhaps an incomplete proper name, perhaps a meaningless collection of letters.

310. The southeast house of the block (D 7 d). In the vestibule (room 12), on the north pilaster at the entrance to the court. Height above floor, 1.48 m.; length, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

BABΞ PH

311. Below. Height above floor, 1.25 m.; length, 0.38 m.; height of letters, 0.06–0.11 m.

ἐσελθ[έ]

For εἰσελθέ, "come in," "welcome."

Elsewhere on this and the opposite pilaster are scratches resembling texts, perhaps in a non-Greek alphabet. Their state of preservation, however, is too poor to permit of their being read.

312. The house next to the last in the block on the southwest (D 7 f). In the room (6) west of the *liwan*, on the north wall west of the door. Height above floor, 1.41 m.; length, 0.105 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.¹²⁰

4 TITQ // // // > H

An account of unknown character.

313. In the anteroom (14) north of the court. Along the east wall runs a bench. On the west wall, above a graffito of many horsemen, perhaps a battle scene. Height above floor, 1.65 m.; length, 0.16 m.; height of letters, 6–7 mm.¹²¹

¹²⁰ Cf. p. 158 n. 117.

¹²¹ Made by inking a photograph.

317. Height above floor, 1.51 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height, 0.06 m.

μν(ησθῆ)

Cf. No. 189, above.

318. Height above floor, 1.48 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 7 mm.

*Ολυμπος

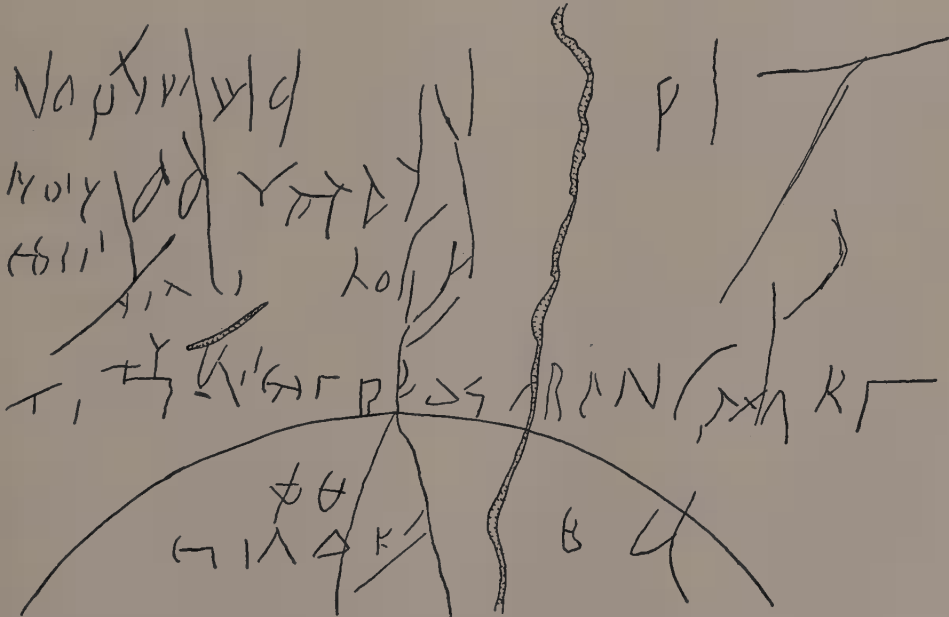
A name well known at Dura; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, and *Rep. II, Indices*.

319. Height above floor, 1.45 m.; length, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

*Αβιῆλ[ος] κ[

For the name Abielus see Wuthnow, *s.v.*; it is new at Dura.¹²⁵

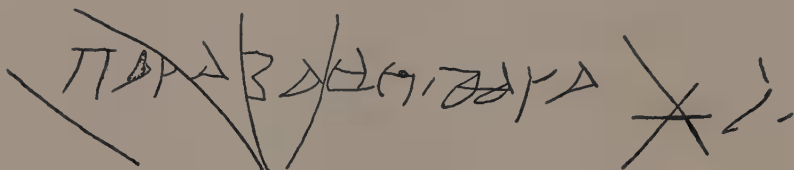
320. On a pilaster on the west wall of an interior room, perhaps the court. The plaster is rough and weathered, and covered with scratches. Height above floor (?), 1.13 m.; length, 0.28 m.; height, 0.16 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.



¹²⁵ "My father is El, that is, the Almighty" (Kraeling).

I can make nothing of this text, which perhaps once consisted of a number of names.

321. Below, within a rosette and circle perhaps drawn with instruments. Height above floor (?), 1 m.; length, 0.255 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.045 m.

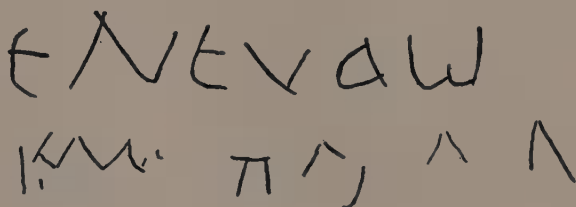


παρὰ Βαθεισθάρα * α'

A receipt of one denarius from an unknown person whose name may be explained as a compound of Βαθ, "daughter," and εισθαρα, *estara*, an Aramaic form of Ishtar-Astarte (Kraeling).

H. THE HOUSE OF THE PRIESTS (H 2 d)¹²⁶

322. The vestibule, west wall, on the panel between the first and second doors.¹²⁷ The plaster is covered with a mass of scratches, drawings, and texts, and is somewhat weathered. Height above floor, 1.62 m.; length, 0.1 m.; height, 0.035 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm.



The first line is clearly, ἐνεύδω; of the second I can make nothing. The verb is rare in Greek and has a poetic cast. It is never used of "in-

¹²⁶ Cf. A. Naudy in *Rep. III*, pp. 25–27.

¹²⁷ *Rep. III*, Pl. IV, room A in the building on the southeast. The partition which is represented as cutting this passage in two was a later addition.

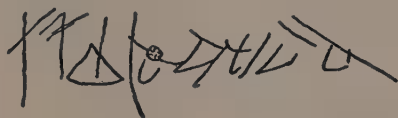
cubation," as, for example, in a temple of Asclepius, but always with garments in which one sleeps. Its meaning here is not clear.

323. Height above floor, 1.41 m.; length, 0.115 m.; height of letters, 6 mm.



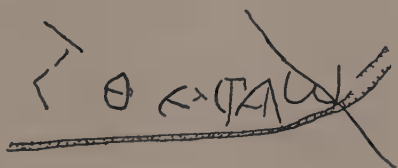
Amid the tangle of scratches there appears, at the end, κόπρον; at the beginning ΣΩΣ and perhaps Τ (τόν?). The text is more probably an obscenity than a serious reference to the handling of manure.

324. Height above floor, 1.38 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.



Apparently one of the Semitic names beginning Δαδ, possibly Δαδά-δο(ς).

325. Height above floor, 1.21 m.; length, 0.055 m.; height of letters, 7-10 mm.



ΘΕ . . Ω

326. On the pilaster just beyond the second door. Height above floor, 1.74 m.; length, 0.21 m.; height of letters, 0.03-0.04 m.

μ(νησθη) Ναβόννιος

ἱερά[ρ]χη[ς] = ἱεράρχης, though the use of that word would be strange, as it is otherwise restricted to Boeotia in Greece.

330. Height above floor, 1.56 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m.

ΣΠΙΩΒΑΚΗ

331. Height above floor, 1.47 m.; length, 0.1 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

ΣΠΩ . . ΗΚΗ
ΣΠ

The meaning of these two obviously related texts is uncertain. The second is written near the head of a male figure, but neither it nor the first seems to form a name.

332. On the north wall at the end of the passage. Height above floor, 1.79 m.; length, 0.28 m.; height of letters, 0.03–0.04 m.

μν(ησθη) Ἀπολλῶ(νιος)

There is no reason to identify this man with any other of the numerous Apollonii at Dura.

333. Height above floor, 1.58 m. A pair of concentric circles, the outer 0.19 m., the inner, 0.135 m. in diameter. Within is the Roman letter S and following, what appears to be a C, 0.075 m. in height. There is no certain clue to the meaning.

334. To the east, above the graffito of a male figure in a chariot(?). Height above floor, 1.5 m.; length, 0.21 m.; height, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 10–15 mm.

ΝΗΠΩΔΑΓΛΧ
ΣΕΛΕΥΚΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ

The second line of the text contains certainly, Σελεύκου. In that case the first line, which Professor Torrey assures me is not Semitic, should be a name in the nominative case, though it defies reading. What remains may well be a date; can l. 2 end with ἔτους, as Professor Torrey suggests? But the traces yield nothing certain.

335. On the south wall opposite. Height above floor, 2 m.; length, 0.44 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.04 m.

μν(ησθῆ) Αὔσαδαῖος ΝαβουΚΟΡΕΟΣ

The name Αὔσαδαῖος is otherwise unknown, and its explanation is uncertain. The name Νάβου is common. The interpretation of the final letters does not appear.

336. Height above floor, 1.83 m.; length, 0.18 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m. Very faint.

Ἰλμᾶς

The three middle letters are uncertain, and other readings are possible: Ἰλαλᾶς and Ἰαδδᾶς, for example.

337. Height above floor, 1.6 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height, 0.19 m.; height of letters, 6 mm. Cf. Fig. 10.

This is the familiar magical device of the puppet and the curse on the person it represents. The phrase, ἐν τῇ γῇ, may be part of the old Greek formula, "on land and sea"; cf. the Curse of Artemisia, l. 6: κακῶς ἀπολλύοιτο κέγ γῇι κέν θαλάσσηι, and the comment of Wilcken, *U.P.Z.*, I, 100.

338. Height above floor, 1.6 m.; length, 0.535 m.; height, 0.11 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m.

ΒηλακαΣΣΙΣ
Ἰδαγαίου

Neither name is otherwise known.



Θνήσκει ἐν
τῇ γῇ.

Fig. 10.

339. Height above floor, 0.6 m.; length, 0.23 m.; height, 0.39 m.; height of letters, 15–30 mm.

ζήσης
 ζήσης Λυσίας
 Λυσία ΤΙΡΑ
 Λυσίας
 5 ζήση(ς)

This is a toast to one Lysias, perhaps a member of the great family many of whose members bore that name.¹²⁸ A number of them were στρατηγοί of the city, and it is tempting to read στρα(τηγός) at the end of l. 3. It may be that the Λυσία of that line is intended for a genitive, but no Lysias son of Lysias is known.

The health-wish, ζήσης (cf. Nos. 314 and 315), seems to be used chiefly in the Near East. It may be paralleled from the Greek Old Testament; cf. I Kings 10. 24: ζήτω ὁ βασιλεύς; Daniel 3. 9. Cf. also the ζῆθι of the epigram¹²⁹ and Christian inscriptions.¹³⁰

I. THE HOUSE WEST OF THE HOUSE OF THE PRIESTS (H 2 g)

340. In the southwest corner room, on the east wall. Height above floor, 1.04–1.12 m. (sloping to the right); length, 0.17 m.; height, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.03 m.

ΑΘΑ
 ΣΑΝΔ
 ΑΒΔΡΣΛΛΒΒΔ

Apparently a meaningless collection of letters.

J. THE TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS (H 4)¹³¹

341. In the *bouleuterium* (the so-called “Odeum,” room H), on the west interior doorpost. Height above lowest seat, 1.23 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.23 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

¹²⁸ Cf. Johnson, *Dura Studies*, pp. 17–34.

¹²⁹ *C.I.G.*, 569b, 5 (Athens); 5819, 8 (Naples); 5862 (Herculaneum).

¹³⁰ *C.I.G.*, 8762, 1 (Mistra).

¹³¹ Cf. *Rep. III*, Pl. IV. For texts already published see Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscriptions 122–128.

ΓΑΛΑΤΙΚΑ
 ΚΟΝΩΝ
 ΣΑΛΜΑΝΕΣ
 ΓΟΒΡΙΔΗΣ
 ΑΜΛΙΧΟΣ
 ΠΑΠΙΑΣ
 ΑΔ[Α]Ι[ΟΣ]
 ΔΗ[...]
 ΑΠΟ... ΕΛΙΙΣ
 ΕΛΛΑΝΙΚΟΣ

- Σαδόκας
 Σεμήσης
 Κόνων
 Σαλμά(νης)
 5 Γοβρίδης
 'Αμλίχος
 Παπίας
 'Αδ[α]ί[ος]
 δης
 10 (no writing)
 Αδη[...]
 Α.....ολιδης
 Απο...ελης
 Ελλ...δος
 15 'Ελλά[νικο]ς

The plaster is here badly weathered, and no names are certain except those in ll. 3, 4, 6, 7. A list of names, perhaps of the members of the body which used the room (βουλή?). Similar lists were published by Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscriptions 123-127, but only one of these names occurs in them, Salmanes (*Fouilles*, Inscription 127, 2). The others are all Semitic except Κόνων, a common name at Dura in the Macedonian families, and 'Ελλάνικος (cf. the 'Ελληνικός of Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 125, 5), if that very uncertain reading is correct. The names Παπίας (cf. No. 276) and 'Αμλίχος (see on No. 328) have already been discussed. Of the

others, Σαδόκας (the "just") is comparable with the Σαδῶκ of Wuthnow, Σεμήσης may be connected with *semesh*, "son," Γοβρίδης (cf. on 'Αδαγα-βάρος, p. 120, n. 60) would mean "might," 'Αδαῖος is well known (Wuthnow, *s.v.*).

342. On the face of the third tier of seats, on the west side. Height above lower seat, 0.16 m.; length, 0.15 m.; height, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m.

↗ h
 ✕
 3 α ι λ ι ν δ ✕ ι
 κ λ ✕ c
 ε ρ υ ι ο ν ι ο υ α β ι δ α
 β ρ ι λ λ α α α ✕ ✕

As in the case of No. 341, the plaster was badly weathered and the reading was difficult and uncertain. Beyond being recognizable as an account by the denarius signs, little can be made of this text. In ll. 3 and 6 there appear to be names beginning with the common element Βαρ, "son."

343. On the same tier, east side. Height above lower seat, 0.34 m.; length, 0.52 m.; height, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.03 m.

μν(ησθη) Ζώιλος Ζαβδοῦ βου-
 λευτῆς Δούρας.

Both Zoilus and Zabdas are names known at Dura and common elsewhere. The history of the βουλή at Dura is little known, all the evidence

being late.¹³² The discovery of this text has led to the theory that the circular "Odeum" was in fact the Council Chamber of Dura.

344. At the left. Height above lower seat, 0.31 m.; length, 0.24 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m.

μ(νησθῆ) (Z)ώλλος Zβδ.

Only the consonants of the name Zabdas are used.

345. In the small room U at the north end of the court.

The room had been painted within as is proven by the great quantity of fallen plaster. The plaster had been held by reeds, standing vertically, the impressions of which were still clear on the back. The painting seems to have begun at some height above the ground. The prevailing color was red, but there was also pink, white, black, blue, yellow, orange, dull green, and various shades of brown. Patterns of red brown and umber crescents were distinguishable as also a reel and bead design of reddish shaded with brown. One border was white latticed with red and seemed to have two red bunches of grapes at the corners. Four fragments showed an interesting design of white peacocks' feathers with dark-blue eyes and indistinct spots of light blue on a pink ground.

(A. R. B.)

On a fallen piece of plaster, now at Yale. Length, 0.105 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

Διόνισος

Three instances of the name Dionysius are known at Dura, *Rep. II*, H. 33, and *Rep. III*, D. 148 and 159, but the only other evidence for the god's connection with Dura is the representation of him(?) with Heracles in one of the frescoes of the temple of the Palmyrene gods,¹³³ and a head which may be assigned to him.¹³⁴ The possibility is not excluded, however, that Διόνισος may be a personal name.

346. On another piece of plaster, now at Yale. Length, 0.11 m.; height, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

]ο
]ευσ ἦκτο

¹³² Cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, XXIII; A. R. Bellinger, *Rep. III*, p. 162.

¹³³ Fresco XV, Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 118.

¹³⁴ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 225.

The letters are very clear, and the text, when complete, must have been interesting. It was certainly more than a name or memorandum.

347. In the room (V) next to the west, on the west wall under a graffito of a horseman. Height above floor, 1.33 m.; length, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 7 mm.

μν(ησθῆ) Ἀρχίας

A new name at Dura.

348. Height above floor, 1.29 m.; length, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.03 m.

μν(ησθῆ) Μαρε[

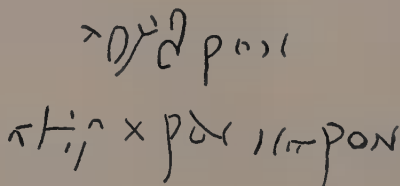
Cf. *Rep. II*, H. 57, a graffito from the northwest Roman Bath.

349. Height above floor, 1.25 m.; length, 0.09 m.; height, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

ΑΠΔΙΝ

ΑΙ, ΑΙ

350. On a fallen piece of plaster. Two lines, 0.07 m. apart, with a design of uncertain character between them; height of letters, 4–12 mm. Length of upper line, 0.05 m., of lower line, 0.09 m.



A finely written text, of which the remains do not suffice to show its character.

K. THE TEMPLE OF THE PALMYRENE GODS¹³⁵

351. In the pronaos (A), south wall, on the east face of the pilaster

¹³⁵ A new Plan of this building is to be published in a subsequent report. References hereunder are to the plan drawn by Professor Hopkins. *Rep. II*, Pl. VII. The published texts from the temple comprise: Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscriptions 1–49; *Rep. II*, H. 2–H. 54 (pp. 86–111). Not all of the more recently discovered texts are ready for publication; the following are only a selection. All graffiti have become more legible with time, and it will be possible to make many corrections of earlier texts.

connecting with the naos (B), immediately under Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 19. Length, 0.27 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. (left) to 0.05 m. (right).

μν(ησθῆ) Ζαβδέος (Μ)αλίκου.

Both names are well known.

352. East wall, south of entrance door. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 20 *bis*.

Ἀθην[ᾱ]ς διὰ ιε΄.

The name (cf. the Ἀθηνίς of No. 279) is a theophoric name in -ᾱς; cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 320.

353. At the left (0.05 m.) of Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 21. Length, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 5 mm.

Λυσίας Πουμαίου.

The same name as in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 21, 1. On the second element cf. Cumont's explanation of Πουμαία, *ibid.*, p. 436.

354. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 121.

L. 1 reads certainly, Λυσίας Πουμαίου (cf. No. 353). In l. 4, the conjecture Διογένης Κομίνου is correct.

355. On the north wall. Immediately above Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 24. Length, 0.09 m.; height of letters, 5 mm.

μν(ησθῆ) Ζηνόδοτος.

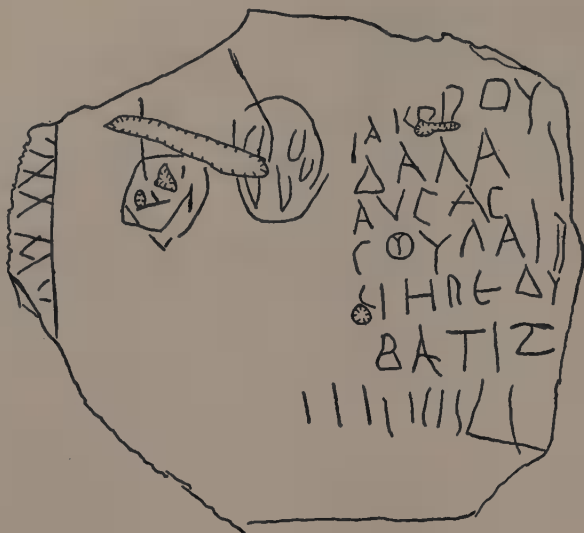
The name Zenodotus occurs in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 6c.

356. On the east face of the north pilaster, leading to naos (B). Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 34.

μν(ησθῆ) Μανέος Ἡλιοδώρου.

On the name Manaeus cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, *ad loc.*

357. The Court, on a fragment of plaster fallen from the exterior of the south wall of the pronaos. Length, 0.06 m.; height, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.



Ἰακώβου
 Δαλα[ιλ
 Αὐσᾶς
 Σουδαι[
 5 Νηβεδι[
 Βατιζ[

A list of names like No. 358; cf. above on No. 341. It is curious that the name in l. 1 is in the genitive case, while that in l. 3 is in the nominative. Jacob appears here for the first time at Dura. The names Ausas (cf. No. 335) and Dalaelus are well known, and Soudaeus has been already found at Dura (*Rep. I*, p. 48; cf. the Σουδᾶς cited by Wuthnow). The last two names are unknown.

358. On the exterior wall of room K, near the entrance into the tower. Height above ground, 1.23 m.; length, 0.23 m.; height, 0.28 m.; height of letters, 15–20 mm.

Μάλχος
 Σαυλυφᾶς
 Μαβουγαῦ
 Θουμῦς
 5 Ζεβυδᾶς
 Ἰαραῖος
 Δαδδᾶς
 Σαλαβύλ
 Αἰράνης
 10 Ἀειᾶς

A list of names; cf. on No. 357. Malchus is well known at Dura. Dad-das (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 376), Iaraeus (cf. *Rep. II* on D. 132, and

Rep. I, p. 37), and Aeranes (No. 190) are Palmyrene names. Zebidas is a familiar type (Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 405). Saulypas and Salabyl are unknown. The others are explained by Professor Kraeling as follows: Μαβουγαῦ is from the root נבג; the name is probably derived directly from that of the city מבוג, Maboug, Hierapolis, and indicates the individual's relation to that city; Θουμῦς must be Tammuz in a form approximating the Babylonian *dumuzi*; Ἀειᾶς is חייא, "Life" or "Salvation," but it may also be the Greek Αἴας.

359. In the archway leading to the tower (L), on the south side at the springing of the arch. Height above ground, 1.45 m.; length, 0.275 m.; height, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m.

ΕΝΤΙΣ ΕΚ ΜΟΥΝΟΥ
ΙΙΔΟΥΝΟΥ

ἐάν τις ἐκφέρῃ. .ων
.ΡΟΝ..

This unfortunately incomplete or incompletely read text may have been a warning against removing certain articles from the temple.

360. Above the archway. Dimensions not recorded.

EYN

An unfinished text, perhaps for εὐνοῦχος. Eunuchs played a considerable part in the life of Dura.¹⁸⁶

L. THE CHAPEL BUILDING¹⁸⁷

361. In the court, on the west wall south of the door into room 5. Height above floor, 1.69 m.; length, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Δείου ι'

¹⁸⁶ Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 9, cf. pp. 125 f.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Yale Classical Studies*, II (1931), 56 f.

¹⁸⁷ Where in the season of 1931–32 was found a Christian chapel. Plans will be published in a subsequent report. The building stands by Tower 17, south of the Palmyrene Gate.

A date: the tenth of the month Dios. This was the month of the earthquake, which occurred on the ninth of Dios, A.D. 160.¹³⁸

362. On the south wall west of the door into room 4. Height above floor, 1.28 m.; length, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m. Written with ink.

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗΘΙΚΑΜΝΞΟΠΡΣ

An incomplete, but correct, abecedarium.

363. Height above floor, 1.12 m.; length, 0.34 m.; height, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.05–0.06 m.

ΑΒΓΔΕΖΗ
ΘΙΚΑΜΝΞΟ

An abecedarium, also correct and incomplete.

364. By the door to room 4. Height above threshold, 1.39 m.; length, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.01–0.02 m.

The letters are rather faint. There can be certainly read only the following: Γ ΑΡΤΩ.

365. Height above threshold, 1.26 m.; length, 0.20 m.; height of letters, 0.02–0.04 m.

ΚΕΡΘ(?)Α ..ΡΟΥΡΟΥ

¹³⁸ *Rep. II*, H. 2.

The letters are comparatively distinct, but I do not know the interpretation. The Θ may not belong to the text.

366. Height above floor, 1.06 m.; length, 0.085 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

ΒΔΕΖΗΘ

An imperfect abecedarium.

367. On the north wall of room 4, west of the door to the court. Height above floor, 1 m. (sloping from left to right); length, 0.80 m.; height, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 0.05 m.

[μνησ]θῆ Παῦλος κ[αὶ]ΘΑΥΛΟΥ
[. . . ἐπὶ]σκοπον καὶ . . . ΛΙΝ[

The grammar of this text is obscure; we can hardly accuse the writer of shifting arbitrarily to the accusative in l. 2. Perhaps there may be a better interpretation of the OH at the beginning of l. 1, for the amount lost at the left is entirely uncertain. The title ἐπίσκοπος is found commonly in Syria at this time, used of officers whose function is not very well known.¹³⁹ Sometimes ἐπίσκοποι have charge of building construction or of finance, sometimes they are the equivalent of ἀγορανόμοι. In view of the fact, however, that a Christian chapel has been found in another part of this building, it is better to interpret the word here as designating an officer of the church, whether "bishop" (πρεσβεύτερος) or something else.¹⁴⁰

368. On a fragment of masonry which may have come from the same building. Length, 0.18 m.; height, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 15–20 mm.

ΑΒΔΙ (or Ρ) ΕΗΘΖ
Κ . . .

Apparently another abecedarium.

¹³⁹ W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1870), comment on 1990; see most recently G. McL. Harper, "Village Administration in Syria," *Yale Classical Studies*, I (1928), 132–134.

¹⁴⁰ Special officials known as ἐπίσκοποι are known in the church as early as the second century; cf. H. Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, V, 1 (1922), 212–218. The term does not appear in epigraphical texts elsewhere before the fourth century: cf. for Egypt, Preisigke-Kiessling, *Wörterbuch*, III, 440, s.v.; for Syria, Waddington, *op. cit.*, 2158 (Eaccæa): for Asia Minor, Grégoire, *Recueil*, I, 82 *ter*, 254 *bis*.

M. THE TEMPLE IN THE SOUTHWEST ANGLE OF THE WALLS¹⁴¹

369. On the south wall of the court, north of the engaged pillar containing a Safaitic inscription (*Rep. III*, pp. 66-68). Height above ground, 1.51 m.; length, 0.31 m.; height of letters, 0.03-0.04 m.

μν(ησθῆ) Γινυέος

The name Ginnaeus is the same as the Γεναῖος or Γενναῖος cited by Wuthnow.

370. On the east face of the doorway east of the engaged pillar. Cut in the stone (cf. No. 299). Height above threshold, 1.43 m.; length, 0.19 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

AXEANE[

The name 'Αχέαν (accusative?) may be connected with the 'Αχείας of Cumont, *Fouilles*, Inscription 127.

N. THE BUILDING OUTSIDE THE WALLS NORTH OF THE
PALMYRENE GATE

371. On the north face of the doorway, scratched over the inscription No. 176, above. Length, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.01 m.

μν(ησθῆ) 'Αδδαῖος.

The name is one of many formations from Hadad.

VI. SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS

BY C. C. TORREY

The Syriac Inscription on the Silver Vase.

Around the bottom of the vase runs an inscription in primitive Estrangelo characters, giving the weight of the silver. According to a widespread custom, the characters are formed by rows of shallow punctures which seem ordinarily to have been made in the silver plate before putting together the various parts of the vessel (see Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike*, pp. 82, 105, 107, 134). In this case the letters are made rather carelessly, sometimes indistinctly or only partially; yet in the main there can hardly be doubt as to the correct interpretation.

¹⁴¹ Detailed plans of the temple will be published in a subsequent report. Cf. Pls. I and II.

The Syriac reads as follows: *L'qallilu m'le t'qala litre d'malka*, and thereupon follows the symbol here shown:

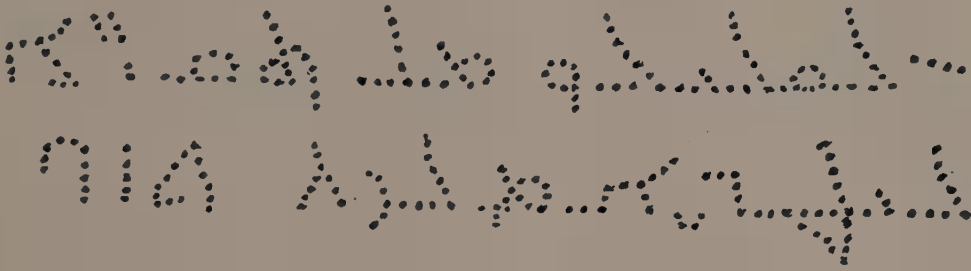


Fig. 11.

This, after trying other hypotheses, I take to be made up of the Greek λ (the customary abbreviation for the *litra*) and the character *pe*, standing for the numeral 80. The translation of the inscription would then be: "Approximately full weight, in *litrae* of the royal standard, 80 *litrae*." Unfortunately, the standard is perfectly uncertain and can only be conjectured. It may not be superfluous to attempt a possible computation.

According to Barhebraeus (see the reference in Payne Smith, *s.v.*), the Syriac *litra* was six times the Bagdad unit. This, to be sure, is testimony from the thirteenth century, and may or may not have value for this much earlier time. We may say that weights and measures are likely to be persistent in a given territory, and try to use the information in default of anything better. The Bagdad unit would doubtless originally have conformed to the Greek standard, according to which the silver *litra* weighed 1.74 grams (the tenth part of a tetradrachm) (see G. F. Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 64). This would give for the Syriac *litra* 10.44 grams; and for 80 *litrae*, 835.20 grams.

The inscription specifies the "royal" norm, and here is another uncertainty. The existence of a royal standard in more than one system of Syriac weights and measures is indeed known (see Berthelot, *la Chimie du moyen age*, II, carshuni text, p. 69, l. 10; trans., p. 153; reflecting the usage of the ninth century). In the early silver coinage of Western Asia, both Babylonian, Persian, and Phoenician, the royal norm was at first $\frac{1}{24}$, and later $\frac{1}{20}$, higher than the common norm (Hill, *ibid.*, p. 32). On the supposition that this latter proportion continued into the period represented by our vase, the royal *litra* would

have been 10.96 grams, and the weight of the silver 876.80 grams. The actual weight of the vase in its present condition is about 900 grams. The coincidence may be purely accidental, in view of the very precarious character of the preceding computation.

Following the inscription as above translated are other characters, very carelessly made; enough, apparently, to form two Syriac words. I am quite unable to make anything out of them, but give them here in facsimile.



Fig. 12.

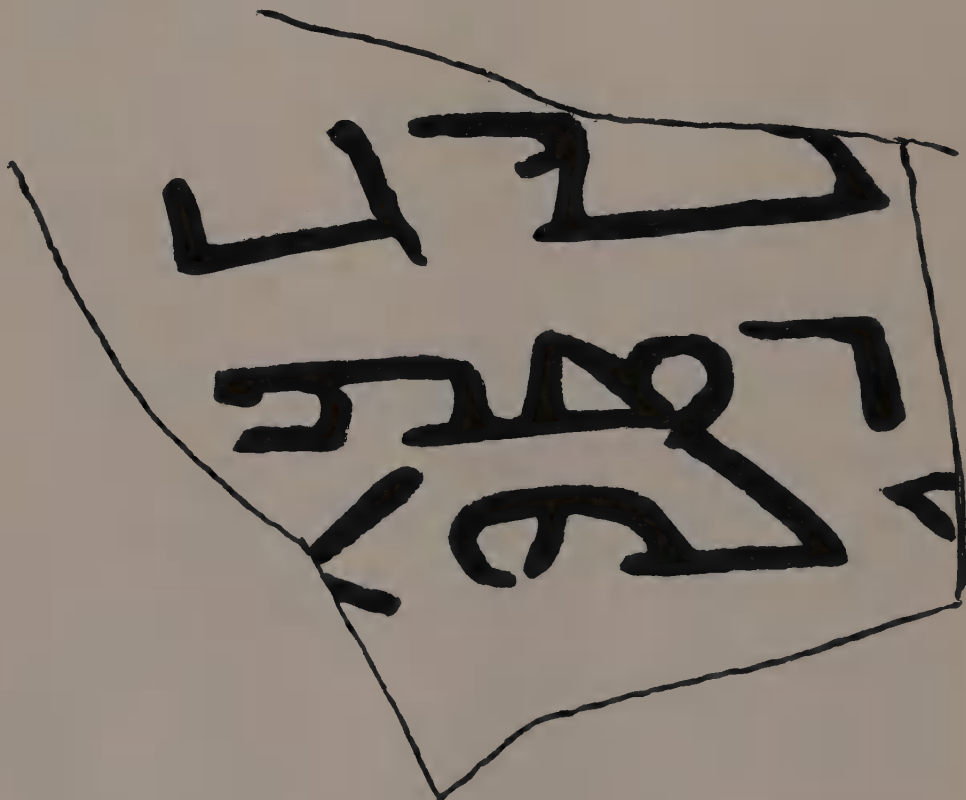


Fig. 13.

The Syriac Fragment.

The characters of the inscription are Estrangelo Syriac, of a type derived from manuscript (Fig. 13). The inscription is defective, showing apparently the ends of three lines, which may have been of considerable length. From the alignment at the left, and the free spaces above and below, it seems unlikely that the inscription contained more than the three lines. It presumably accompanied a votive offering. The first line (if correctly reproduced) might possibly be the word *kedanai*, "jars of . . .," and the second line, *de-sam*, "which he deposited." The third line, seemingly ending the inscription, contains the single word *allaha*, "God," before which might be conjectured "before," or "as an offering to," or the like. The name of the devotee was of course included in some one of the lines, if the above interpretation is correct. Dr. J. B. Chabot, to whom the fragment was shown, deciphered the second and third lines as above.

As to the date: On the basis of our present knowledge of Syriac paleography (including a codex beautifully executed by a professional scribe and dated in 411 A.D.) there would be no difficulty in supposing this script to be as early as the latter part of the fourth century. The place where the stone fragment was found, however, seems to make imperative a date in the first half of the third century; and this indeed is not forbidden by any consideration. By good fortune we already have a specimen of Estrangelo from this early time, in the inscription published in *Rep. III*, page 69. The only noteworthy difference between the two inscriptions, in the form of the characters employed, concerns the letter *daleth*; and here the older form, unquestionably, is that which occurs in the present fragment. We therefore need not hesitate to date the inscription in the third century; and the gain for the history of Syriac writing derived from these two monuments from Dura, and from the graffito on the silver vase mentioned elsewhere in this Report, though slight, is not to be despised.

IV PICTURES

I. THE SASSANIAN FRESCO

BY A. McN. G. LITTLE

IN the main living-room of House F, Block C 7, already described in this Report¹ were discovered the remains of a panoramic fresco set in a scheme of wall decoration (Pls. XVII, XVIII).

The fresco² depicts an Iranian cavalry victory and occupies the center of the southern wall facing the door of entrance from the court. Outside the area covered by the fresco, there remained for decoration the vertical surface of the walls. This surface rising from a low plaster settee which served the purpose of a permanent divan is broken on the north wall by an arched niche to the right of the entrance, on the east by a similar niche to the right of the door communicating with the inner room.

The decorator has followed the scheme of an irregular dado, varying in height from 0.65 m. to 0.85 m. above the settee, and a checker design of squares in black and white. These, traced with a fine point on the plaster before painting, and punctuated in three places by columns outlined in black, were presumably carried parallel with them up the wall to a plain molded cornice of which fragments remain.

There are sufficient remains of the traced squares on all four walls to indicate that this part of the design³ was carried completely around the room. Their measurements vary considerably—from 0.175 m. by 0.165 m. to 0.23 m. by 0.18 m.; they are not always joined but their most regular appearance is to the right of the fresco on the south wall. Here, over an area 1.29 m. broad, there stand out from the vestiges of similar squares three horizontal parallel lines at intervals of 0.19 m., 0.20 m.,

¹ P. 36.

² See Pls. XVII, XVIII.

³ For comparison with this checkerboard of the Sassanian artist must be cited a similar design of squares on the plaster of Room 2 of this same house. The squares are alternately white and red, the red squares being ornamented with a circle inclosing a dot in purple. Also the decoration of painted square bricks let into the vertical wall surface of the *liwan* of the House of the Large Atrium (cf. p. 42). The system had already made its appearance in Graeco-Roman civilization in Pompeii e.g. in the peristyle of the House of Trebius Valens. Is the Sassanian artist adapting the system he found in Dura for his own purposes? Cf. also Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum*, p. 118, for similar decoration in the Necropolis of Anfouchy.

0.25 m. apart, well joined and still retaining, in a grayish tinge on the alternate squares, evidence of their original checker of black and white.

Superimposed upon the last of these squares to the right is a column design beginning below their level at 0.56 m. above the settee. The column is 0.57 m. broad, outlined by black lines, and crossed by three rows of triangles at intervals of 0.23 m. and 0.11 m. The upper and lower rows are in black on the white ground of the plaster. They consist of four triangles terminating at each end in a half-triangle applied to the limiting line, while the central line has only three triangles broader in base and higher than the others. A fragment preserved from the upper part of the wall indicates that, when the design reached the cornice, the line of triangles was reversed as if hanging from it. The cornice itself consisted of two simple concave moldings, colored probably red and black like similar fragments from the House of the Large Atrium.

On the western wall the same pillar design reappears at 0.88 m. from the southwest corner, where there survive outlines of two triangles and a limiting half-triangle in red, with traces of a higher line in black, and again, over the surface of a walled-up door in the northwest corner in the two black central triangles of a third column. It is difficult, however, to say whether the scheme was carried around the room. It seems unlikely. If there is regularity in its appearance to the west of the fresco, on the northern wall the niche to the right of the entrance precludes its occurrence there, a consideration which at the same time rules out any possibility of its appearance to the left of the same door. In the eastern wall broken up by a door and a niche, any balancing scheme is impossible. Finally the disposition of the fresco in the southern wall, leaving only a space of 2.21 m. to the left of the fresco as compared with 2.92 m. to the right where the first column appears, would have rendered a column on the left awkward and irregular. In view of the hasty drawing of the squares and of the artist's inability to carry out his design, perhaps we may infer that the decorative scheme was for him an inspiration of the moment, not thoroughly thought out, and perhaps interrupted in execution. Did he finish the frescoes?

The visitor on entering this room must have had his attention riveted at once upon the center of the wall that faced him. Here, as if it were woven in tapestry hung upon the wall, he became witness of the whirling activity of a battle scene, in black and white, in red and black, until his eye traveling upwards encountered a row of recumbent figures, spec-

tators like himself of the struggle. The contrast between the vigor and movement, the fiercely rolling glances of the lower scene and the serene immobility of the upper cannot have failed to impress him. In this reception room of a small *bourgeois* house, he was in the presence of an art as vigorous as it was sophisticated.

The fresco occupies an area 3.78 m. broad by 0.97 m. high in the center of the south wall. This wall, surviving to a height of 1.63 m. with vestiges of the fresco, continued to a height that it is now difficult to estimate. That the design continued higher up the wall is certain, as six fragments of stucco with figures in black were found at the base of the wall.

The actual design was limited by two vertical lines traced upon the plaster, to the right and left of which begin the design of squares already described. A similar line limited its base. Above this, traced in the same manner, a design of triangles served to give the impression of a fringe, reminiscent of the series of triangles in the neighboring column. Four of these triangles near the right are interspaced with circles in black, inclosing a dot, one circle being surrounded by rays, with an inner circle surrounded by dots, perhaps representing woolen embroideries.

The first third of the fresco is filled on the left with figures painted in black and red, while the remainder is in black outline. Here again, as in the case of the squares and columns, the question may be asked whether this was intentional or due to the fact that the painting was never finished.

The size of the figures varies. The painted figures on the left, of which only the lower portion survives, are larger than those in black outline; and these in their turn are unequal in proportions.

The scheme of the fresco, however, is simple. The lower ground consists of pairs of horsemen galloping from left to right, in two parallel planes; the upper fragmentary portion, in a row of recumbent figures, and above this row, other figures whose grouping will be discussed below.

In the lower field the first traces of painting begin at 0.36 m. at the left from the surrounding frame, in the two front legs, the head, and neck of a red horse, represented like all the horses of the fresco in the attitude of the flying gallop. The horses, bridle, and reins are executed in black. At the join of the upper leg with the body can be seen the outline of the collar consisting of two squares joined by a circular disk.

The figure of the rider is obliterated, but above the horse's head projects a portion of his lance, 0.27 m. long, pointed downward unlike the other lances of the fresco.

The first rider, however, is completely dominated by his neighbor, to the right, whose charging black horse extends 0.71 m. from its tail to its front hoof. The figure of the horse is completely preserved, the body in its original coloring, the head only in outline. The reins and the hoofs of the horse are in red, the collar and the girth are white, but were probably originally red like all the horses of the fresco. It has a heavy body, short legs,⁴ but a small, fine, and nervous head. Practically the entire figure of the horseman has disappeared. Traces of color indicate that it was painted red like the right leg and foot which are preserved against the flank of the horse. Above the tail of the horse traces of black and white seem to be vestiges of a diadem worn by the rider flying out behind him, while a large circular red patch beneath the horse's belly presents difficulties of interpretation which will be discussed later.

In front of this rider, over an area of 0.41 m. are seen traces of red and black, the poor remains of a third rider. The figure of the man has completely disappeared, but there remain the ears, muzzle, and leg of a horse in red, with hoofs of black.

The black and white section of the fresco which follows measures 2.03 m. in breadth. The left of this surface (1.40 m. wide) is occupied by two planes of horsemen. A space of 0.63 m. between these two painted planes and the right margin of the fresco is now empty, but faint traces of black paint show that two other pairs of superimposed riders may have filled the blank. Actually, the upper plane contains two pairs; the lower, three.

It is in this section that the skill of the artist is very apparent. If the recumbent figures of the upper section did not admit of much variation of grouping, he has here successfully avoided monotony by the irregular spacing of his men in this realistic picture of a field of battle, by the variation in their size, and in the constantly changing positions of the defeated foes. On the other hand, in the uniformity of the victors' dress and ritually frontal attitude, in the consistent triumph of their tilted lances, he has produced an effect of irresistible advance.

In the upper plane, the first couple, larger than their fellows, consists of a victorious Iranian, and of another, a conquered foe. To the left of

⁴ Cf. Tarn, *Hellenistic Naval and Military Developments*, p. 78, and Appendix II, for the great horses of the Parthians.

the head of the Iranian is a partly obliterated inscription in Pehlevi. On his head he wears a tripartite dress, familiar in representations of Sassanian Persians; the upper part of his body is clothed in a closely fitting tunic which serves to emphasize the breadth of his shoulders and the narrowness of his waist; down the center of his body from a semicircular necklet runs a line of large buttons or metal disks⁵ while smaller buttons are used to ornament the front of his dress, its sleeves, the equipment of his horse, and the sides of his trousers.⁶ These are looped up in baggy folds resembling the "chaps" of American cowboys. Behind the trousers reaching from the arm of the horseman hangs a long, broad quiver, strapped to the side of the horse, ornamented with crossbars and circles each inclosing another circle decreasing in size with the quiver. The horse is given full rein, and is fitted with trappings similar to those of the painted horses. Stylistically the curious drawing of its head closely resembles the form of horses' heads in the Sassanid silk stuffs illustrated by Sarre.⁷ The drawing of his enemy is much less distinct. He is smaller than the Iranian (0.22 m. by 0.22 m., while the other is 0.32 m. by 0.29 m.). His headdress, moreover, is different. He is wearing probably either long floating hair, or a long close-fitting cap, whose folds widen out over his shoulders. His dress is likewise indistinct, though devoid of buttons or disks. Only his quiver is clear, a smaller edition of that of his assailant.

The second pair, raised slightly above the first to give an impression of distance, is composed of another Iranian and an enemy clearly of another race. Little but the upper half of the Iranian is visible in a dress and headgear similar to that of the first. To the left of his head are considerable traces of an inscription. The spear which he holds is enormously long, 0.42 m., and is unseating a horseman falling on his head from a horse plunging forward onto its knees. Of this enemy there remains only a leg covered in armor, and perhaps his casque fallen to earth.

The first two figures of the lowest line are much smaller in scale than those above. The Iranian (0.15 m. by 0.19 m.) is clothed in the same manner as the others but there is no trace of any inscription. The figure of his enemy is very well preserved. He is represented as fallen from his

⁵ Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, Pl. XXII, and Index, p. 253, for the employment of plaques sewn onto clothes by the Scythians and Sarmatians.

⁶ Metal disks were found during the campaign in the houses.

⁷ Cf. Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Pl. 99.

saddle, his head down, his feet in the air. He holds in his right hand a short sword, of the Roman type; in his left an oval buckler. His body is covered with a striped jerkin, his legs with trousers of a similar material; round his clean-shaven face fits closely a casque.

There follows a group that is almost obliterated. Only visible are traces of an inscription to the left of the Iranian, traces of his head and body, which seem to have been treated in the same way as his fellows, and the hind quarters of his enemy's horse.

The third couple is, however, quite clear. The equipment of the Iranian is the same as that of the others. The only difference is the absence of buttons or round plaques to left and right of the central line of his tunic. His enemy resembles that of the first couple in this plane. Mortally wounded, he is foundering in agony before him. His feet are in the air, his body stretched along the neck of his sinking horse, his head and arms are beginning to crumple. In his right hand he holds a short sword, in his left perhaps a shield. He is wearing a cuirass, whose upper section is formed of long strips of metal, its skirt of scales. His feet are shod in high soft boots. He is balanced uncertainly along a saddle, or perhaps simply a *chabraque* with a fringe, attached to the body of the horse by a girth ornamented with metal disks.

Below this couple of horsemen is a curious scene. In adding it to the battle scenes, the artist probably wished simply to indicate the locality in which the battle took place, though he succeeds by force of contrast in emphasizing its rapidity. It is a hunting scene, in which a *sloughi* hound, its collar round its neck, courses toward the left, in the opposite direction to the horsemen, in pursuit of a hare. A smaller hare or rabbit runs in the same direction, preceded by a jackal or a fox; the whole group in the attitude of the flying gallop. The scene is one which can be seen frequently in the desert. It is, then, in the desert that the battle is taking place.

There remains to be described the line of figures above the battle scene. In this plane can be distinguished only two figures, half recumbent on couches, supporting themselves on their left elbows. The first couch to the left (height 0.055 m.) is divided into three sections by two horizontal parallel lines, the space between them being filled with triangles. Of the reposing figure the torso is seen with the knees drawn up, the elbow supporting it, as in a hundred Parthian terra cottas, on a pile of cushions similar to those illustrated in Sassanian feasting scenes.⁸

⁸ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pls. 110, 111.

Behind the figure is a curtain clinging to a column. The figure itself is probably masculine, but the details of the close-fitting costume escape us except for a symmetrical arrangement of metal disks visible on the sleeves and the body of the dress.

The other couch, like its occupant, is smaller (height, 0.038 m.) and is without a decoration of triangles or canopy. The close-fitting dress is without ornament. It would appear therefore to be the couch of a person of secondary importance.

In addition to these fragmentary figures are six pieces of plaster discovered in the earth at the foot of the fresco which can only have formed part of its continuation higher up the wall. It cannot, however, have continued much farther. The surviving wall is 1.65 m. above the settee; the average height of the cornice on walls where it still survives in Dura is 1.85 m. to 2 m.; there remains therefore a possible height of, say, 0.35 m. to be filled.

The fragments of stucco fall into two groups of three each. The first group comprises a section of a Pehlevi inscription (cf. Inscription V in the Appendix on the Pehlevi inscriptions) together with two fragments of a human figure (Fig. 14). The second group are perhaps also complementary.



Fig. 14.

In the first group are visible the remains of a black and white figure larger in scale than those of the riders below but on a scale approximating that of the rider on the black horse; only the upper part of the body is preserved, with the arms open. In the left hand the figure holds an object which resembles a flower; in the right hand another indistinct

object. The sleeves and chest are ornamented with round disks. The headdress is the tripartite one of the Iranians. It is tempting to see in this fragment the remains of another of the figures recumbent upon couches. To his right is the inexplicable graffito in Greek letters, KABYN, scratched on the plaster.



Fig. 15.

In the other group one fragment (Fig. 15) clearly represents the outline of the figure of a man from the waist upward in the act of drawing the bow⁹ toward the right, while facing frontally. The figure is on a smaller scale than that described in the preceding paragraph and on a larger scale than the fighters in the field below. Unlike the other figures, the head is bearded and without the tripartite headdress; the dress close fitting but plain except for a circlet of metal disks round the neck. On the other two fragments the painting resembles perhaps the body of a horseman and the remains of a horse and quiver.

It appears therefore that the top of the wall was occupied with another row of figures including a mounted figure, perhaps that of an inferior guard and a superior personage of even greater importance than the fighters below, who is watching the struggle from afar. Beyond that it is impossible to attempt reconstruction.

⁹ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, p. 51, Abb. 14.

The painted inscriptions, which have been mentioned above as they occurred, appear in each case to the left of an Iranian head (except for the fragment from the upper wall). The independent fragment has been interpreted by Professor Pagliaro¹⁰ as *nairhelav* (valerian), probably the Roman name Valerianus. Professor Benveniste reads the inscription as written in Sassanid, not Parthian, characters, in the following manner: *w'lh'l'* [*n*], recognizing in it the well-known name of Varhrān (later Bahram) a Parthian name derived from Vrthagna and known in its Pehlevi form as Varhan; in its Greek, as Οὐαπαράνης, Βαπαράνης, etc. In general the Pehlevi form is *wrhr'n*, but there would be no difficulty in admitting a *scriptio plena w'r*. Presumably the substitution of *l* for *r* is a simple vocalic change, though Professor Benveniste makes no comment on it.

The other inscriptions indicate the names of the Iranians whom they precede. Unfortunately all are not decipherable. Taking them in the order followed in the description, the first inscription to the left of the first Iranian in the second row of black and white figures is deciphered by Professor Pagliaro as "the son Ohrmazd," by Professor Torrey as Ardashir. One other inscription to the left of the last Iranian in the lowest row is the subject of variant readings by Professors Benveniste and Pagliaro, the former reading it as *čyhr m'n yzt* [*n*], the latter as [*Sahpuhr*] *yazatan hač čihr xvataw*, the "Lord, descendant of the gods (Shapor?)." With the exception of the alternative reading *nairhelav*, the names are all those of the ruling family of Persia, the descendants of Sasan.

For the interpretation of the fresco the first conclusion is that it represents a battle between Iranians (who were all certainly celebrated personages, as their individual names are inscribed) and a non-Iranian foe, the chief figure being that of the central horseman on the left already described. The battle takes place in the presence of spectators—either gods, or a royal personage and his attendants, who were not present at the actual battle—above whom there was another row, of which two are partially preserved.

Who were the enemies? There are four who are more or less distinct. In the upper row of the black and white figures, the enemy has an accouterment similar to the Iranian, and a non-Iranian headdress, or hair. If one interprets this as long floating hair, comparison with the Syrian

¹⁰ Cf. Appendix for full statement of Professors Benveniste, Pagliaro, and Torrey on the Pehlevi inscriptions of last year's campaign.

god, Genneas, is suggested, who, according to Cumont, is dressed in the armament of a Palmyrene.¹¹ The same free hair is characteristic of the military gods of Palmyra—Malakbel, Aglibol, and Iarhibol¹² and of Arsou and Azizou,¹³ the protectors of caravans. If on the other hand one interprets it as a loose cap covering the neck and head of the horseman, it can be compared with the headdress of the Roman soldiers who accompany the Emperor Valerian on the rock sculptures of Naksch-i-Rustem,¹⁴ wearing long trousers similar to those of the Palmyrene gods. Perhaps the artist of the reliefs has represented Palmyrene auxiliaries whom he certainly knew well.

The same row has preserved to us another couple of horsemen. Of the adversary of the Iranian only a foot and a leg remain. If it is right to recognize in this leg a covering of metal plates, then the figure is a *cataphractarius*, a horseman completely equipped in mail.

In the lower row we have two practically complete figures of enemies of the Iranians. One is armed with a round casque, a short spear, and an oval buckler, and is wearing a tunic and trousers with vertical folds. The other is protected by a cuirass which appears made up of vertical strips above and scales below, while he carries in the right hand a short sword and in his left perhaps an oval buckler.

It is obvious that the arms of the Iranians conform to one type and are carefully differentiated from those of their enemies. These then belong to other peoples, and must be sought among the enemies of the Iranian race. Of these little is known as to their armament, even in the case of the Roman Empire, in the third century—the date of the fresco. That little, however, allows us to discount the Nomads of Central Asia, the Chinese, Indians, and Arabs of the desert who carried no such arms as these. There remains, therefore, only the army of Rome, including at this time its auxiliaries, the Palmyrenes.

During the later period of its existence, the Roman army was becoming less and less one of legionaries, and increasingly one of cavalry, light and heavy. At the same time, uniformity of outfit was being lost. Each unit came to reflect its national origin in the variety of arms and clothing, a process which might be expected to act conversely in the adoption by the Palmyrenes of superior features in the Roman equipment. But the general effect is clear; it must have been precisely that

¹¹ Cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 271.

¹² Cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, Pl. LV.

¹³ Cf. Chabot, *Choix d'inscriptions de Palmyre*, Pl. XXII.

¹⁴ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 75.

which we see in the fresco; a light horseman in a tunic, another in corselet and high boots, a third armed from head to foot, a *cataphractus*. Thus in all probability the foes of the Iranians are soldiers of the different units of the Roman cavalry. Unfortunately we know only inexactly the details of the armament and clothing of the army in this period. The gravestones of soldiers at this epoch are rare in depicting the dead in full military equipment, just as triumphal monuments become scarcer and relate rather to the army of the West, than of the East.

However, the principles of transformation are known in outline. It is a question of the simplification of arms, a gradual barbarization on the one hand, and on the other a greater orientalization in some units, especially in the heavy cavalry. Beside the light cavalry in leather jerkin or in a tunic appear the heavy cavalry in oriental cuirass, the complete or partial *cataphractus*, phenomena which are additionally confirmed by the discoveries in the towers at Dura. These consist of such short swords as those of the fresco, of the same round leather shields, of varied cuirasses, even of an osier shield. This last was considered at first a Roman scutum of cheap material, but texts¹⁵ and a recent discovery in a Sarmatian tomb of the Altai¹⁶ show that this type of buckler was the only one familiar to the light cavalry of the Iranians and the Sarmatae, as well as to their cousins the Parthians and the Sassanid Persians. We may conclude, therefore, that the horsemen are soldiers of the Roman army in Syria, or of its allies the Palmyrenes, members of those units who alone were capable of fighting the similarly armed Iranians.

The battle then is a battle between Iranians and Romans or allies, or between Iranians and the two in conjunction. What is its date? The defeated horsemen have been interpreted as belonging to the third century A.D. Similarly several other considerations prove that the date of the fresco is posterior to the appearance of the Sassanids in Persia. It has already been noted that the costumes are those of Sassanians, not Parthians. Though it is true that loose-fitting trousers are characteristic of Sassanians, Parthians, Palmyrenes, and even of the men of Dura itself,¹⁷ there is a distinct difference in the type of general accouterment. The headdress of Parthian and Sassanian have affinities; in Parthian coins of royal personages there is the tripartite division of the hair con-

¹⁵ Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, XXIV, 6, quoted by Hopkins, *Rep. II*, p. 217.

¹⁶ Cf. Griaznow, *Communications de l'acad. de l'hist. de la cult. Mat.*, I, 1931.

¹⁷ For the Palmyrenes, cf. Chabot, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXVII; for Dura, cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLV.

fined by the diadem¹⁸ such as one sees in the riders of the fresco, but there appears also an unbroken aureole of hair in other representations¹⁹ of Parthians. The tunic, however, is distinct. In the Parthian representations, a tunic of heavy material with parallel horizontal quiltings centering either on the girdle or on a broad strip of material running down the front of the dress can be distinguished. In the Sassanians,²⁰ a tunic of much lighter material closer fitting to the body is circled at the neck with metal disks, and falls in folds around the upper part of the thigh.²¹ In the treatment of the trousers, there is again a difference. Parthian trousers emerge from beneath the quilted tunic, and fit as closely to the leg as the heavier material will permit, and are sometimes²² adorned with a vertical stripe of embroidery, as are the similar trousers of the Palmyrenes, and the men of Dura. The Sassanians, however, wear lighter, fuller trousers, which in riding bag out in a series of blown-out folds, and are decorated with metal disks. The horsemen, therefore, of the fresco are Sassanians quite distinct in equipment from their Parthian predecessors.²³

Moreover, there is a striking resemblance between the composition of our fresco and that of the monuments of Sassanian art. Together they are inspired by those leading ideas of Sassanian life, literature, and art, which Spiegel has so well characterized.^{23a}

Moreover, this is precisely what we find not only in the fresco, but also on all the rock reliefs which represent episodes from the great battles of

¹⁸ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 66 (7, 14); cf. also Pl. 64 on a fragment of Parthian glazed sarcophagus.

¹⁹ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 54, Pl. 65, and graffito from House of the Priests, Pl. XX, 2, as well as the heads from Hatra, Sarre, Pls. 59, 60, 61, 62; also, *Rep. II*, p. 194.

²⁰ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pls. 80, 81.

²¹ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 71.

²² Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 64 and graffito from Redoubt, Pl. XXI, 2.

²³ Editorial Note: Without rejecting Mr. Little's conclusion that these are Sassanians rather than Parthians, it must be pointed out that the distinctions he cites are based on monuments which, for the most part, cannot yet be accurately dated. The argument, then, that the equipment of the Parthians, of the third century A.D., differed from that of contemporary Sassanians must be advanced with caution.

^{23a} According to Iranian ideas [says Spiegel (*Iran. Altertumskunde*, III, p. 644)] a battle is a series of individual engagements, which may be compared to the combats of Homeric heroes. The courageous warrior used to leave the ranks of the fighters and demand an adversary to dare measure his strength against him, and there resulted frequently a single combat between the two. Several are mentioned by Socrates (I, 121), Malalas (p. 463) and Procopius (I, 13).

Sassanian history (e.g. in the relief of Ardashir at Firouzabad and at Naksch-i-Rustem).

Again, the treatment of scenes of combat is the same. In the Firouzabad reliefs²⁴ can be seen the same couples of horsemen, transfixing their fleeing enemies, and the same sculptural treatment of their foes who are represented conquered or dying, one of them—Ardavan—falling from his horse, head down, his feet in the air.

If the groups are similar, the general composition alternating rest and action seems also typical of Iranian art. Though there is no scene of a complete battlefield to be found in the rock reliefs mentioned, on the side walls of the grotto of Tak-i-Boustan sculptures of the time of the Khosrau Parwez represent a hunting scene²⁵ in which, above the field of action, contrast is provided by the musicians and attendants in the stand, while the figures of the horsemen are here again differentiated in size.

Finally the details of armament and clothing—the headdress, close-fitting tunic, baggy trousers, and quivers of the men and the round metal ornaments of both men and horses—are so similar as to be mutually explanatory. In the description of the principal horseman of the fresco, an unexplained circular object has been referred to as occurring beneath the body of the horse. This on comparison with the equipment of Bahram II in the relief at Bichapour²⁶ makes it possible to identify the object in the fresco as the attachment (be it tassel or water gourd) which occurs in the reliefs behind the quiver of the Persian king.

To which Sassanian victory, then, does the fresco refer? And how does it come to be painted on the walls of a house in Dura? We have seen that it is difficult at this time to distinguish between the Roman army proper and its auxiliaries, the Palmyrenes. It is a question, therefore, whether we have represented a battle in which the Palmyrenes and Romans are joined in opposing the Sassanians or a battle in which the Palmyrenes alone are carrying on war. In other words, is there depicted a major battle without local significance, in which the Sassanian royal family participated, or is it a local battle of which history has left no textual record?

In the first place it is necessary to examine the evidence of the inscrip-

²⁴ Cf. Herzfeld, "La sculpture rupestre de la Perse Sassanide," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, Année V. No. III, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 4.

²⁵ Cf. Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 86.

²⁶ Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLII, Fig. 16.

tions. Professor Torrey's reading makes Ardashir a combatant; Professor Pagliaro reads in the fresco a conflict of Valerian and Shapor; Professor Benveniste interprets the inscription from the uppermost row of black and white figures as Bahram.

In view of the variant readings any attempt at precise identification of the battle from this evidence becomes extremely hazardous. The inscriptions relate only to the black and white section of the fresco and leave unexplained the three important figures in color on the left. If inscriptions were attached originally to them also, they have now disappeared, and the relevance of the figures to the central theme can only be conjectured though their part in the continuity of the action has been assumed owing to their inclusion in the limiting framework of the picture.

As a basis for conjecture comparison must be made with the related monuments of early Sassanian art. These consist of the rock carvings mentioned already, Firouzabad, Naksch-i-Rustem, Naksch-i-Redjeb, and Bichapour. In these rock carvings three distinct types of the Sassanian male world are represented, the god Ohrmuzd, the king, and the followers of the king. In the scenes representing the investiture of the king by the god there is a distinction between the two in headdress alone (i.e., the god wears²⁷ the solar crown and a diadem, the king his crenelated crown and a diadem); there is no distinction in size. Between the king, however, and the other Sassanians,²⁸ the distinction in size is added to the distinction in dress (i.e., the Sassanians are both smaller and also wear the domed helmet which constantly recurs in the rock carvings). Again in the monument of Bichapour representing Shapor victorious over Valerian, the king is distinguished from his followers both by his important position and by his exceptional size.²⁹ In the matter of dress, the diadem flowing from beneath his crown, and the immense tassel or gourd attached to his harness (cf. note 26) served to mark him as the King of Kings.

In interpreting the three figures to the left of our fresco, account must be taken both of their exceptional size, and of the presence of certain distinctions in dress, which are not repeated in those of the black and white section. It has already been noted that of the three figures, the central one is the largest and most dominating in the fresco, though the

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXXV, Fig. 1; Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 3.

²⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXXVI, Fig. 3.

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, Pl. XXXIX, Figs. 8 and 10.

other two are again larger than the black and white figures. It has been noted also that vestiges of what appears to be a diadem are still visible on the ruinous upper section of the left part of the fresco, while the large red circle beneath the belly of the horse has been interpreted as a tassel or gourd similar to that of a Sassanian god or king.

However, the condition of the fresco does not permit us to state whether the upper part of the central figure is that of a god or king. It is only possible to state that none of the combatant figures in the black and white section has any of the distinguishing marks of king—exceptional size, crown, diadem, or appendage to their harness. They are important personages, perhaps members of the royal family, but they do not number among them the king.

This interpretation does not conflict with the readings of Professors Torrey and Pagliaro. If the first is Ardashir, it still remains possible that a member of the royal family, of the same name as the king, is represented. Professor Pagliaro's reading "Ohrmazd, the son" is consistent also with this hypothesis. Further in his reading, "Shapuhr, the Lord, descendent of the gods," Professor Pagliaro himself remarks both on the uncertainty of the name and on the absence of the full title "Shahan Shah" if the figure had been intended for that of the king.

On the other hand, it is possible that only gods and members of the royal family are represented without the king, though this supposition seems scarcely likely in view of his prominence in the extant monuments. However, if the king is to be found, he must be either among the three figures to the left or among the figures on the upper wall. It has already been pointed out, that among the fragments surviving of these figures, one is of exceptional size, though too fragmentary for identification. If it is to this figure that the inscription read as Bahram by Professor Benveniste refers, perhaps we have here the figure of the king, though it is equally possible that the Bahram represented is not a king, but a member of the royal family. If, on the other hand, Professor Pagliaro is correct in reading Valerian, we must again look for the king not as Bahram, but as Shapor, Valerian's conqueror, either among the figures at the top of the wall, or as one of the three riders on the left.

Three possibilities, then, emerge: (1) if the king is Bahram, the figures on the left remain to be explained; (2) if Bahram is not the king but a member of the royal family, the king must be sought either in another figure from the upper wall or among the riders on the left; (3)

if Shapor is the king, he must be located either in the upper part of the wall, or among the three riders on the left of the fresco.

Of these figures it has already been pointed out that only one deserves the title of king or god. If then Bahram is king, this figure must be that of a god. If Bahram is a member of the royal family and the king's figure occurred elsewhere in the upper portion of the wall, then again the figure on the left must be that of a god. If the king's figure did not occur in that position, then the figure on the left must be that of a king. In the same way, if Shapor is represented with Valerian in the upper part of the wall, then the figure must be that of a god. But if he is not, then this figure of the central rider must be that of the king himself, Shapor.

Against any such representation of gods, however, speaks the evidence of contemporary art. In the rock carvings the gods appear, but only in scenes of investiture, not in battle scenes. They offer the reward of victory as in the investiture of Ardashir, not the means of its achievement. Even in the triumphal scene at Bichapour⁸⁰ in which Bahram II receives the submission of an Arab tribe, the protection of the god is indicated only by the winged crown of the king which Herzfeld recognizes as "the crown of the god, Bahram, the Vrthaghna of the Kousan coins."⁸¹

There is left then the supposition that the central figure of the three riders on the left is that of a king, who cannot be Bahram but may be Shapor. If Professor Pagliaro is correct in reading Valerian, this is what we would expect, though the position of Valerian in the upper part of the fresco can only be explained as that of a prisoner in the court, while Shapor continues his campaigns in the field. If Professor Benveniste is correct in reading Bahram, Bahram must be another member of the royal family not present at the battle, perhaps in charge of the government in Persia. But the evidence that the king is Shapor must be sought elsewhere—in the coins found at Dura.

Here luckily we have a *terminus ante quem* for the battle. This is the Persian campaign beginning in 256. The numismatic evidence of previous campaigns has yielded Roman coins as late as the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, which Professor Bellinger assigns to 256.⁸² After that date, a coin of Shapor is the last numismatic evidence from

⁸⁰ Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. XLII, Fig. 16; Sarre, *op. cit.*, Pl. 80.

⁸¹ Cf. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

⁸² Cf. Bellinger, *Rep. III*, p. 144.

the city. It seems necessary, therefore, to infer that the city passed into Persian hands in the course of this campaign.

The events of the campaign were as follows. Shapor advanced in 256 into Syria, captured Antioch, and on the appearance of Valerian in 257 was ejected from the city. Valerian, after an excursus against the Goths who were seeking to join hands with the Persians, inflicted defeats upon the latter commemorated in a coin inscription of 259 as *Victoria Parthica*.³³ In 260, however, Valerian was defeated and captured, and Antioch fell once more to Shapor, who burned it. Driven out of Syria at last (262)³⁴ by Macrianus and Ballista, he was pursued across the Euphrates by Odenath of Palmyra.

If Dura fell in the initial stages of this campaign, it must have fallen either to Shapor himself, as Bellinger believes, or to one of his generals advancing *via* the Euphrates valley to meet the king in the north—a double advance repeating conversely the Roman strategy of Trajan's campaigns. On the other hand, if it fell after the capture of Antioch, it must have been secured either by the king himself, or by one of his generals dispatched to make certain the king's retreat down the Euphrates. Certainly its importance was paramount. Considering its natural position and the proximity of the Palmyrenes, it was the key to the return home down this river.

The fresco itself gives little help for a precise dating. One thing alone can be said. It is the work of a temporary householder, with leisure sufficient not only to paint a picture, but also to think out a scheme of decoration with which to embellish its central effect. It was carefully planned to catch instantaneously the visitor's eye. The man made it to amuse his guests, but he never finished it. That is all. But it argues rather the mentality of a member of a garrison, with time on his hands, than that of a predatory invader in a hurry to destroy.

But the precise victory remains uncertain. It may have been a victory over Romans or Palmyrenes, or over the two combined. The victory may have been near Dura or elsewhere. In this campaign we know of no Sassanian victory over the Palmyrenes, local or distant. We appear then to be left with three hypotheses, either the battle is that of Edessa, or an otherwise unknown defeat of the Palmyrenes, with or without the Romans, or else the artist wished to represent without specific reference to any battle a composite picture of the whole campaign, of which he had

³³ Cf. *R.I.C.*, Vol. V, Part I, p. 30.

³⁴ Cf. *R.I.C.*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

heard more than he had shared in, a campaign so preëminently successful for his royal family and nation. In so doing he would naturally have represented the joint enemies of the king, Romans and Palmyrenes, just as he would have represented the king himself and his family in the field and Bahram the organizer at home. This would have had point after the battle of Edessa and more point still after the second capture of Antioch. It seems probable, therefore, that it was subsequent to this event that the painting was executed, though even then in a premature hour of triumph, for before ever the painter finished his decorative addition, the great king was himself in full retreat down the bed of the Euphrates.

If, then, in this fresco in the modest *bourgeois* house of Dura is depicted the victorious inroad of the Sassanians into the West, it must be regarded as an historical document of capital importance. It has considerable value for political history, commemorating as it does an epochal victory in the relations of East and West, more important than the ephemeral victories of the Parthians over Crassus and Antony. But it has a value also for the history of art. Imperfect though its condition is, it is the only counterpart in Sassanian painting to the rock reliefs of early Sassanian history. Its composition is a link in the chain of Iranian triumphal representation. It stands in line between Gotarzes' rock bas-relief of Behistun (first century A.D.),⁸⁵ Ardashir's relief at Firouzabad, and the contemporaneous reliefs of Shapor himself. Instinct with the same tradition, it testifies in the work of a journeyman artist in the Dura garrison to the beginnings of that school of Sassanian painters to whom Persian art in general is so much indebted. If in imagination one can recapture from it something of the vigor of masterpieces in the Persian capitals, then for the first time can we form an idea of the triumphal art of the Iranians, an art contemporary and rival to the triumphal art of Rome.

II. NOTE ON THE PEHLEVI INSCRIPTIONS

During the campaign seven painted inscriptions in Pehlevi were discovered, five on the stucco of the Sassanian fresco described previously, one on a sherd of a broken amphora from the house next north to the House of the Frescoes, and one on the wall to the right of the main entrance of the Redoubt.

⁸⁵ Cf. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien*, pp. 35 ff., and Pls. XXI-XXIII.

The inscriptions of which tracings are reproduced in this order below, were submitted to Professor Pagliaro of the University of Rome, to Professor Benveniste of the Sorbonne, and to Professor Torrey of Yale. Their readings are quoted below under the individual inscriptions to which they refer. The appended sketch of the inscribed area of the fresco serves to illustrate the position of the inscriptions.

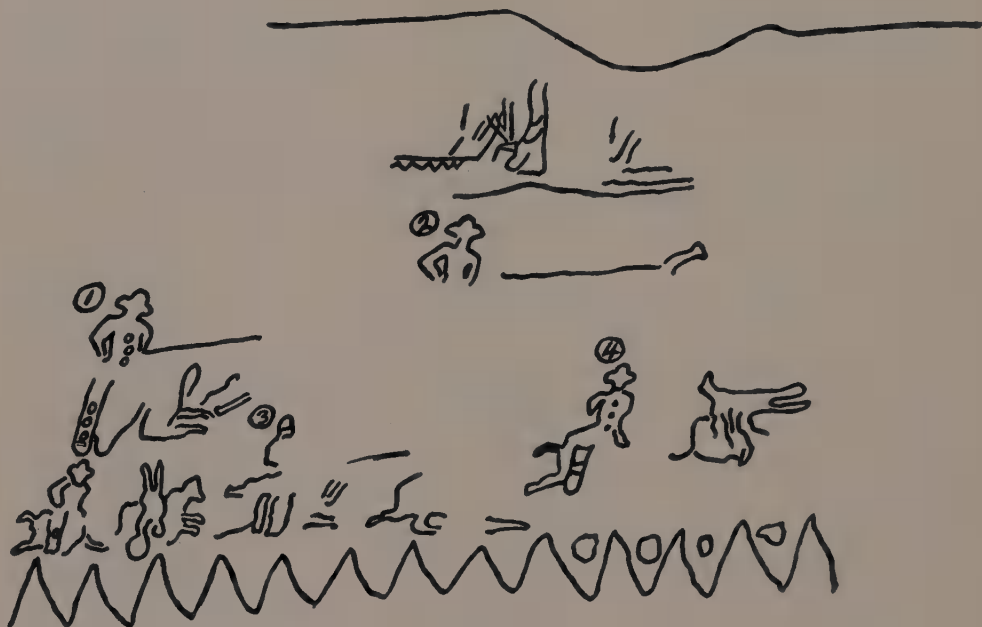


Fig. 16.

Inscription I.



To the left of the head of the first Persian in the upper row of horsemen.

Of this inscription Professor Pagliaro writes as follows:

"A. Beside the figure which represents a horseman with his lance in rest are three inscriptions; one to the left, the other two to the right of

the figure. [Cf. Pl. XVIII, 1, for the vestiges of these last two inscriptions, which were not traced.]

𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬵𐬀
ohormezd i pus
 the son, ohormazd

"The word *ohormazd* is distinctly legible. To be noted are the final letters which are confused with the connecting sign of the idafat. The sign is almost rectangular in form as it appears in the Pehlevi MSS. The word *pus* is less certain. It is written with the Aramaic heterogram

𐬵𐬀𐬵

in book Pehlevi

𐬵𐬀𐬵

The letters are not all equally distinct, particularly the final

𐬵

but, given the other two letters, the third letter, whose existence cannot be questioned on account of the traces which remain, must be only this. The horizontal line of the

𐬵

is somewhat obliterated. However, close examination with a magnifying glass reveals how it cuts the other two letters, making a ligature with them just like that which has appeared before in the coins of Fratacara. [Cf. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, 157 ff.]

"If this letter is exact, as appears scarcely doubtful, the person indicated must be Ōhrmazd, son of Shapor I, who, as various sources show, took part in the battles with the Romans. The position of the inscription

'Öhrmazd, the son' makes one think that the figure of the king, Shapor, with the inscription relative to it should be in close proximity.

"B. The inscriptions on the right present insurmountable difficulties. The upper one has a ductus that is very different from that of the left inscription, and is differentiated from it by the greater size of the letters. Nevertheless certain letters may be in Parsik; at any rate they give the impression that we are concerned here with an inscription in an alphabet which is not Persian. This inscription has not been traced.

"Below is another inscription, but a comparison of what can be seen on the photograph and what can be retrieved from the copy does not render possible a reading."

Of the same inscription Professor Torrey writes: "I think that the inscription to the left of the first Parthian horseman in the upper row reads 'Ardashir.'

"The 'sir' at the end is clear in all the photos and is supported even by the drawing; and the 'Ar' at the beginning is hardly less plain. The middle characters are half obliterated. It seems possible to guess

The character (?) under the 't' looks like a part of the inscription and in that case is the Pehlevi 'd.' Might this mean that somebody wished to improve 'Artahšir' into 'Ardahšir'?"

Inscription II.

To the left of the head of the second Persian in the upper row of horsemen.

For this inscription no reading has been returned.

Inscription III.

To the left of the head of the second Persian in the lower row of horsemen.

Professor Pagliaro writes: "It is certainly in Parsik of which some letters can be recognized though the whole is illegible."

Inscription IV.

To the left of the head of the third Persian in the lower row of horsemen.

Professor Pagliaro writes: "The reading of this inscription is uncertain."

[iāhpuhr] yazatān hač čhr xvatār

The Lord (?), descendant of the gods, Shapor (?).

"The reading of the first word and of the last is very doubtful. The heterogram for *xvatar* i.e. αὐτοκράτωρ is in the inscriptions

𐭮𐭲𐭮,

in book Pehlevi

𐭮𐭲𐭮

"The reading is certain since the greater part of the letters are firmly painted. The occurrence of 'r' expressed as 'hr' may appear surprising, but its proved occurrence at the beginning of a word in Persian [hrum] is noted in the internal position in other languages, e.g. in Syriac in words of Greek and Roman provenience. The form of the 'r' i.e.



is that which is commonly found in the Pehlevi MSS. where it is derived certainly from the Pehlevi form



and not from the Parsik form



The reading of the 'i' is an easy restoration since the lettering has been obliterated. Also 'a' is faint, but 'n' is certain."

Of the same inscription Professor Benveniste writes:

"This inscription is in Sassanian characters. I cannot unfortunately follow the reading of M. Pagliaro which does not appear to me to agree with the characters existing either on the photo or on the tracing. The orthography *walehrian* would be in itself strange, and the grouping 'hr' unjustified. Moreover, I do not discern any trace of the 'i's' of which one would follow the first 'l' and the other the second. The photograph confirmed by the copy makes me read

w'lh' [n?]

that is to say, the wellknown name *varhran*, (later *bahram*), a Parthian name derived from *Vrthragna* and known by the Pehlevi form *Varhrān*, in Greek Οὐαραράνης, Βαραράνης, etc. You will observe that the copy made mechanically furnishes clearly at least the first four letters *w'lh'*—but not the *w'lyh* which M. Pagliaro has found. In general one finds

in Pehlevi the reading 'wrhr'n' but there would be no difficulty in admitting a *scriptio plena* 'w'r'—"

Inscription VI.

On a sherd of pottery from the house next north to the House of the Frescoes.

Professor Benveniste describes this inscription as written in Arsacid writing comparable to that of the documents of Avroman. He writes: "I distinguish

??
mn prthm . . .

The first word is the preposition 'mn', 'of', which masks the Arsacid form *až*, Persian *az*. A proper name follows whose exact form I dare not restore. The third letter would be a 'p' like the first, but a reading 'p'p' should give *papak* which is not authorized by the succeeding letters."

Inscription VII.

On the wall to the right of the main entrance of the Redoubt.

No reading has been returned for this inscription.

III. GRAFFITI

BY M. ROSTOVTZEFF

In *Rep. II*, pp. 194 ff., I called attention to the unusual abundance of scratched drawings and inscriptions in both the public buildings and the private houses of Dura. The progress of the excavations during the last three years has confirmed this impression of mine. Hardly any building in Dura has failed to yield a larger or smaller crop both of inscriptions and drawings. In this respect, especially as regards drawings, Dura is the richest of the excavated cities of the ancient world, including Pompeii. Mr. Welles is publishing in this Report the scratched inscriptions, while I am intending to give and to interpret a selection of the most interesting scratched drawings. It is impossible, of course, to publish here a full *corpus* of them; there are too many of them at Dura, some unfinished, some badly preserved. In many cases it is impossible to disentangle even one complete figure from the mass of scratched lines superimposed on each other. Besides, many of the graffiti drawings repeat the same types, e.g., the type of the Parthian horseman or of running animals.

It is very difficult to date the graffiti. In a few cases a scratched date gives some help, as in the case of the inscriptions and some of the drawings of the House of Nebuchelus. They all apparently belong to the early third century A.D. It is natural to suggest that most of the extant graffiti belong to the same period, i.e., to the last period of the city's life. However, it is certain that many are earlier. The horoscope published by Johnson (*Rep. II*, pp. 161 ff.) is dated in the year 176 A.D. Some graffiti might be even earlier, like those on the painted walls of the temple of the Palmyrene gods, some of which belong to the early second century A.D. There is no reason whatever to think that those are the earliest extant graffiti. A careful study of the layers of stucco on which the graffiti are found may help to fix the relative and sometimes the absolute dates of the corresponding drawings. I was not able during my short stay at Dura to carry out such a study. We are contemplating doing it during the next season of excavations (1932-33). However, in all probability most of the graffiti belong to the time of the Roman domination, very few being earlier.

The wealth of subjects which were treated by the local amateurs of art in Dura is surprising. The *pictores Durani* choose their repertory of drawings from everything which they saw and observed in Dura. Gods

and goddesses, their shrines and their sacred symbols, sacrifices, and other religious acts loom large among the scratched drawings. They certainly reproduce the cult statues of the city's many shrines, the *nais-koi* in which some of these cult statues or cult stelae stood, and the daily ceremonies performed in the temples. We have some of the stelae and some fragments of the original cult statues. Besides, we know now that all the walls of the sanctuaries of Dura were painted and that it was cult scenes and figures of gods worshiped in the sanctuaries which were represented in these painted wall decorations. Our graffiti no doubt are very often reproductions of some detached figures of these paintings or the whole of them. But not all the graffiti were reflecting, in a somewhat childish way, the religious life of Dura. The largest part of them reflect impressions of the life which was going on in the town. The artists of Dura were very fond of drawing the most important and most conspicuous of the city's buildings. The greatest impression was produced on them by the strong fortifications and especially by the main gate. We have not yet completed our study of the fortifications of Dura, but the fact that these fortifications, and especially the main gate, loom so large in the scratched designs makes me think that important work was done in Dura by the Romans as regards the fortifications of the town, and it seems very likely that their chief work was on the main gate, which was probably thoroughly restored and rebuilt by them. Less attention was paid to the temples. It was not easy for an amateur draftsman to give a picture of the most typical temples of Dura in a scratched silhouette. However, in the next Report a curious drawing will be published representing a Roman shrine. Since it was probably the dedication of the building which suggested to the Dura draftsman the idea of drawing its silhouette, the suggestion made above about the pictures of the main gate being drawn on a similar occasion becomes the more plausible.

Next to gods and to buildings come the reflections of the military life of the city. It is curious that not one of the graffiti represents a Roman soldier or officer. There are scores of pictures which represent armed men fighting or hunting. All of them give the outlines of horsemen dressed and armed in the Parthian fashion. I am going to publish in this Report a selection of such figures. Since in all probability the graffiti in question were drawn during the period of Roman domination, the natural explanation of this fact would be that the residents of Dura drew on their walls their former masters and friends, now their enemies, the Parthians. Less probable is the idea that the horsemen in Parthian

uniform and dress represent the soldiers—the *equites sagittarii* and *cataphractarii* of the Roman garrison of Dura. We have no monuments which reproduce the oriental *sagittarii* of the Roman army of the second and third centuries A.D., but in all probability they did not wear their hair in the Parthian style and Parthian costume. More likely is the suggestion of the horsemen being soldiers and officers of the Palmyrene garrison of Dura.¹ This implies, however, the hypothesis that Dura in the last years of her life—after Severus Alexander—was no more occupied by a Roman but by a Palmyrene garrison and was ruled by Palmyrene governors, for which assumption there are no strict proofs. Moreover, since the Palmyrene occupation could not have been of long duration (from about 238 to 256 A.D., and perhaps a short period after the Sassanian occupation), the hypothesis does not account for the frequency of the drawings of horsemen at Dura and for the probability that some of them belong to a period earlier than 238 A.D.

Military figures were, of course, paramount among the daily impressions of the residents of Dura. Another favorite subject of the draftsmen was the hunting scenes which, no doubt, represent the exploits in the desert of the officers of the army of occupation and of the military governors of the city. It is very likely also that the large figure of a boat on one of the walls of the House of Nebuchelus pictures not one of the usual Euphrates boats but one of the Phoenician ships which were used by the Roman army as transports down the Euphrates toward Ctesiphon.

However, Dura was not only a military post; it was also a caravan city, and one which carried on a lively traffic on the Euphrates. Two curious graffiti published below show this aspect of the life of Dura: one gives us the silhouette of a caravan, another that of a river boat.

Let me now describe one by one the most conspicuous graffiti which were discovered during the seasons 1929–30 and 1930–31, grouping them not topographically but by subjects.

A. Gods and Goddesses.

1. Temple of Artemis. Room T. 0.11 m. by 0.16 m. Drawing by Miss L. North from a photograph (Pl. XIX, 1).

God Hadad in front view wearing the Parthian tripartite coiffure and a square embroidered tunic. A broad strap adorned with various geometric patterns runs down the tunic from top to bottom. In the region of

¹ This seems to be the suggestion of Cumont, *Fouilles*, pp. 264 ff.

the waist another, horizontal, strap adorned with geometric patterns might represent a belt. Beneath it the tunic is covered with geometric patterns and circles. On the legs, trousers and shoes. The two arms, bent at the elbows, are extended to the right and left. In the right hand the god holds a double ax; the attribute of the left hand is missing, probably a thunderbolt. The figure is similar to the figure of Hadad on a stele discovered in 1931-32 in a private house at Dura (see next Report) and to the many figures of Hadad on the Palmyrene clay tesserae.² New and striking is the Parthian costume which the god in our graffito is wearing. Another type of Hadad is represented by the seated figure of the stele (*Rep. III*, pp. 100 ff., Pl. XIV).

2. Palace of the Redoubt. 0.18 m. by 0.10 m. Drawing by Miss L. North from a tracing made by Mr. A. McN. G. Little (Pl. XIX, 2).

Sketchy figure of a god standing in front view, the head adorned with rays. The god wears a cuirass, a cloak, trousers, and high shoes. The right arm is outstretched and rests on a spear (missing), in the left the god holds what is probably the sphere. The figure undoubtedly represents Iarhibol who is figured in the frescoes of the temple of the Palmyrene gods and on many Palmyrene bas-reliefs and tesserae.

3. House of the Priests of Artemis. Vestibule H of the aedicula. 0.25 m. by 0.195 m.; height of the figure, 0.22 m. Tracing and drawing of Mr. A. McN. G. Little (Pl. XIX, 3).

A little vaulted shrine (*naiskos*). The arch of the vaulted niche is supported by two pillars or columns and is adorned with triangles. Inside of the niche the upper part of the body of a goddess is seen in front view. The lower part of the bust or body is a mass of lines. (This part of the drawing is a more or less arbitrary reconstruction.) The goddess wears the usual coiffure. On her head is perched a spread eagle, head right. On her shoulders are two birds, probably doves, in profile, looking toward her. Professor Baur (*Rep. III*, pp. 110 f.) has shown that Atargatis was often represented with birds. The eagle is the solar bird so often represented in association with various gods at Dura, especially with Hadad (*Rep. I*, p. 70, and the *dipinti* found, one in the sanctuary of the southwest corner of the city, the other in the scribes' room near the praetorium, which will be published in the next Report). It is very probable that the graffito reproduces the cult image of Atargatis and

² See, e.g., *Rep. III*, Pl. XIX, Fig. 2 (the tessera in the center), cf. the late Roman "contorniato," K. Regling, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XLII (1932), 21 F, Pl. I, 16.

the shrine in which it stood. One of the doors of a similar portable shrine was found in one of the towers of the main gate. A figure of a Nike crowning the cult image is painted on it (*Rep. II*, Frontispiece). Similar *naiskoi* are described below under Nos. 4 and 5.

4. House of the Priests of Artemis. Vestibule. Above and to the left of No. 3. Photograph.

A *naiskos* in front view, crowned like the typical horned altars of Dura by three horns. The two doors of the *naiskos* are wide open. They are adorned with a checker pattern and surmounted by semicircular arches. The *naiskos* is empty. One might think that the figure represents not a *naiskos* but one of the towers of the city wall with two adjacent parts of the wall. This interpretation, however, does not account for the horns and the arches on top of the construction.

5. House of the Priests of Artemis. Vestibule. 0.16 m. by 0.14 m. Photograph and tracing.

Similar *naiskos* in front view. The doors with checker patterns are wide open. Inside is seen what seems to be a bust of a goddess in front view.

6. Temple of Artemis. Room U. 0.19 m. by 0.24 m. Tracing (Pl. XIX, 4).

The figure of a naked goddess in front view. On the head a peculiar headdress. In her outstretched right she holds a crown with ribbons; her left is bent at the elbow and the hand is resting on her stomach. To the left a kid turned to the right and a cone with a pole standing on its top; to the right an unfinished sketch of another figure of the same goddess.

The goddess is well known to all students of Babylonian mythology (*Rep. III*, p. 126). She is represented on hundreds of terra cottas of various periods, including the Hellenistic and the Parthian, on cylinders, etc. The same figure covers the surface of many a glazed sarcophagus of the Parthian period. The type which shows the goddess with one hand on her stomach is very popular with the Mesopotamian makers of terra cottas and sarcophagi of the Hellenistic and Parthian periods. The peculiar headdress of the goddess of our graffiti may be derived from the Hellenized coiffure of some Hellenistic terra cottas,⁸ although it is more

⁸ Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren, *Clay Figurines of Babylonia and Assyria* (1930), No. 50, Fig. 17.

probable that it is a crude stylization of the Babylonian horn-crown which in Babylonia and Assyria—especially in the later period—is typical for both gods and goddesses.⁴

Quite peculiar is the association of the goddess with the cone and pole. The pole of our graffito reminds me of some Babylonian bone statuettes of the Parthian period found in Babylonia and now in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.⁵ Three of these statuettes (one of them on Pl. XIX, 5) represent a female head (probably part of a figurine of the naked goddess or of a priestess of that goddess) with a long pole standing erect on the top of the head and the figure of a squatting boy seated on the top of the pole. There is no doubt that the squatting god represents the baby god, offspring of the great goddess of fertility and of her husband, the great god who is often associated with her.⁶ It is curious to note how similar these statuettes are to the famous ivory statuette of a much earlier period found in the ruins of the early temple of Ephesus. The statuette represents a priestess of Artemis who wears on her head a long pole on which a bird (C. Smith speaks of a hawk) is perched.⁷

In the light of these parallels we may confidently say that the goddess of our graffito is one of the many versions of the great goddess of fertility of Mesopotamia. Since one of the main temples of Dura was dedicated to one of them—the Elamitic and Babylonian goddess Nana or Nanaia (in Greek Artemis), it is very probable that the goddess of our

⁴ See, e.g., the well-known Assyrian seal cylinders of Ishtar (Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 80, Fig. 215; H. Prinz, *Altorientalische Symbolik* [1915], p. 71, No. 2, Pl. XIII, 4), and E. D. Van Buren, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. lxvii, Nos. 430–434. Note on the same cylinder the kid which is presented to the goddess by a priest, a motif very common on Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders. Cf. A. Contenau, *La déesse nue babylonienne* (1914), and *Manuel d'archéologie orientale*, II (1931), 339 ff., and Van Buren, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. liii, Nos. 528–538, 701.

⁵ See L. Legrain, *University of Pennsylvania, Museum Journal* (June, 1928), p. 210, Figs. 15, 16, 17. In this article Professor Legrain has published a set of terra cotta, alabaster, and bone statuettes of the Parthian period found in Babylonian tombs, which in most cases represent the nude goddess. In his introduction he gives a valuable essay on the cult of the nude goddess in Babylonia. I owe the photograph of the three figurines with the poles to the kindness of Professor Legrain.

⁶ See L. Legrain, *loc. cit.* Cf. the fragmentary Palmyrene bas-relief with the figure of the baby god and of three female deities on a couch. M. Rostovtzeff, "The Caravan-Gods of Palmyra," *J.R.S.*, XXII (1932), 109.

⁷ D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations at Ephesus* (1908), Text p. 156, No. 1, Pls. XXI, XXII (C. Smith).

graffito is Nanaia-Artemis of the temple. She is associated with the fetish of the male divinity, with his sacred standard—the pole and the cone—and is represented in the act of crowning this fetish.⁸ The kid is either a sacrificial animal offered to her or the sacred animal of her husband.

7. Courtine south of the ravine; southwest bastion. Drawing of Miss L. North from a photograph.

Spread eagle, head right, holding in its claws a snake which is raising its head and fighting the eagle. It is not impossible that the conical object represented below belongs to the same composition, though the two lines which separate the eagle and the snake have nothing to do with it. The eagle is the well-known symbol of Hadad (cf. above, No. 3), the snake in this case representing the chthonic forces. The cone below might represent the top of a mountain.

8. Tower 15. 0.26 m. by 0.43 m. Photograph.

Nike standing in front view wearing a floating dress. To right a palm branch. Her hands are lifted and support above her head a *tabula ansata* with the inscription NIKH. The graffito was doubtless scratched by a soldier after a victory of the garrison of the city, or of the army to which the garrison belonged, over one of their enemies. The graffito was covered by one or more layers of stucco and does not belong to the latest period in the life of Dura.

B. Men.

1. Palace of the Redoubt. Inner court, northwest angle between rooms V and W. 0.34 m. by 0.24 m. Drawing of M. Pillet (Pl. XX, 1).

Figure of a man in front view. He wears a combination of a turban and a crown of palm branches. His head is oval, with an almost triangular chin. Traces of a short beard, like the beards worn by some Mongolians(?). Parthian dress: a kaftan and trousers adorned with straps showing geometric patterns. The sleeved arms are outstretched. In each hand the man is holding hardly recognizable objects (a sphere in the left?). The legs are shown wide apart as if the man were seated on a

⁸ Similar is the standard-fetish of the little altar which was published by Cumont (*Rep. I*, p. 69, Pl. V, C). It is, of course, possible that the cone and pole of our graffito is the standard of the goddess herself, not of her divine consort. It is well known that standards regularly accompany the gods or goddesses to whom they belong on oriental seals and cylinders.

horse which, however, is not reproduced (was it too much for the draftsman to show a horse in front view?). Above the head a scratched inscription in large letters: ΑΛΕΞΑC ΠΑΠΙΟ: 'Αλεξᾶς Παπίο[υ] which might be connected with the figure.⁹ The figure as described above is strikingly similar to one scratched on the south lintel of the door of the sanctuary of the temple of the Palmyrene gods (0.62 m. by 0.37 m. Drawing by M. Pillet, Pl. XX, 2), a figure which is also shown in front view as if seated on horseback. The coiffure of the latter, however, is typically Parthian, the hair being drawn surrounding the head in the fashion of a halo, and the costume is somewhat different (note the broad embroidered strap which goes down from the collar to the lower edge of his kaftan). There is a mustache and a thin beard. It is difficult to say whether the two figures represent gods or men, the second being the more probable interpretation.¹⁰

2. Palace of the Redoubt. Outer court. Above the long bench to the left of the entrance door. Drawing of Miss L. North (Pl. XX, 3).

Man, body and head shown in front view, legs in profile, seated on a horse which moves right. He wears a Parthian tripartite coiffure, a Parthian kaftan and trousers. In his two hands he holds a long and heavy spear which he drives into the back of a female deer, represented running to right with head turned toward the hunter. The horse shows an unusually large head and does not belong to the type shown on other graffiti which represent soldiers and officers of the Parthian type on horseback. Pictures of animals which originally were meant as parts of such hunting scenes are frequent at Dura. No. 3 of this section gives one example.

3. House of the Priests of Artemis. Vestibule, right wall. Photograph (Pl. XX, 4).

Group of running animals, only one being finished. The finished figure represents a deer in mad flight, in the posture of the flying gallop. Sketch as it is, the figure is masterfully drawn. The eyes of the animal are full of terror, the horns are thrown back parallel to the neck—a posture typical for running deer. The unfinished sketch behind (on a

⁹ No. 276, above, p. 145.

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that a similar figure of a horseman representing both man and horse in front view occurs on a Sino-Sarmatian bronze plaque of the collection C. T. Loo (Paris), see my article, "The Asiatic Hero and His Exploits," in the forthcoming issue of *Artibus Asiae*.

smaller scale) was meant probably as the figure of the hunter on horseback. The line above the horse is probably the spear of the hunter.

4. Palace of the Redoubt. Room 14. 0.46 m. by 0.36 m. (Pl. XXI, 1).

A Parthian *eques sagittarius*. The figure of the archer is badly preserved. The body and head are shown, as usual, in front view, the legs in profile. The large bow is seen above the head of the horse. The bow is of the usual form, which has been described in detail by Cumont. I may point out in this connection that bows of the small form are typical for Iranian horsemen in general. Parts of them were found in Sarmatian graves of the Wolga region and in some graves of the Iranian auxiliaries of the Roman army of the Rhine.¹¹ The horse of the graffito is very well preserved. It represents the typical Parthian charger, in the posture of the flying gallop, with a comparatively small head and a heavy body. Our horse, however, is a crossbreed between the horse of our No. 2 of this section and those of our Nos. 5, 6, and 7. On its hindquarter is a typical circular brand (*tamga*).

5. House of the Priests of Artemis. South vestibule (Room A). 0.43 m. by 0.27 m. Drawing by M. Pillet (Pl. XXI, 2).

Very similar to No. 4 is this better-executed graffito of a Parthian *eques sagittarius* drawing his bow with the horse at full gallop. The horse here represented shows the same features—small head and heavy body—but there is no brand on his flank. The rider, again, is in the same position as in No. 4, but the finer drawing and fuller preservation show more details of his figure. His head and the upper part of the body are in front view, his legs in profile. He wears the usual dress and his hair surrounds his face like a kind of halo. He may have a mustache, though this detail in the drawing of M. Pillet may be an error. The bow is of the same type but more carefully represented.

6. Court of the building which abuts on Tower 17 of the southwest portion of the walls. 0.26 m. by 0.31 m. Drawing by M. Pillet (Pl. XXI, 3).

Figure of a *cataphractarius*, body and head in front view, legs in profile, shooting an arrow. The coiffure of the horseman is of the type which surrounds the head as if it were a halo. The face of the man is covered by an oblong metal mask with openings for the eyes and the

¹¹ T. Werner, *Bogenfragmente aus Carnuntum und von der unteren Wolga, Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua*, VII (1932), 33 ff.

mouth, the body is protected by a tight-fitting sleeved coat of mail. The mail might be chain mail (*lorica hamata*) or scale armor (*lorica squamata*).¹² The cuirass of the horseman consists of three parts: the breast and arms are covered by a piece of continuous scale armor, while the part of the coat which covers the middle of the body shows a broad strap running vertically with four circular metal buttons on it; on the waist a belt apparently also of chain or scale mail; the lower part of the mailed tunic shows no central strap. The legs are covered with oblong metal plates. From the waist protrudes to the right an object which seems to be a dagger or a short sword in a metal-plated sheath. On the right side of the horse hangs down an enormous quiver full of arrows. It seems as if it were fastened to the horse, not to the belt of the horseman. The horse is shown running to right in the attitude of the flying gallop. The head is small, the neck heavy, the body very long, the legs short. On the fore- and hindquarters two identical circular brands—*tamgas*—divided by two lines into four segments each, each segment adorned with a circle. On the flank to right and left of the brand, scratched signs which seem to form an inscription. Professor Torrey was not able to recognize in these signs any characters of the Semitic or Pehlevi alphabet.

7. Court of the building which abuts on Tower 17. Just below No. 6. 0.31 m. by 0.40 m. Drawing by M. Pillet (Pl. XXII, 2).

A charging *clibanarius*. Body and head in front view, the legs in profile. On the head a conical helmet which consists of metal plates. To the top of the helmet are fastened two floating ribbons, a kind of diadem similar to the diadems of the Sassanian kings. The head is covered with a metal mask(?) and a vizor of scale or ring armor. The cuirass of the *clibanarius* consists of three parts: the sleeves are made of broad parallel metal rings (*lorica segmentata*), the chest is covered by scale armor, the middle of the body by oblong metal plates; the lower part is again scale armor. The legs and the feet are covered with the same pliable armor as the sleeves—broad parallel metal rings. The horseman holds in his hands a long, heavy spear adorned with ribbons. Behind his belt a dagger; no bow or quiver. The horse, which is shown running to right, has a small, fine head and a heavy body. The head is covered by a metal mask adorned between the ears by an aigrette. The mane is cut short and stands up. The whole of the body is covered by a coat of scale armor

¹² On the various types of armor see Grosse, art. *lorica* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real.-Enc.*, XIII, 2, pp. 1444 ff. (*lorica segmentata*, "Schienenpanzer").

hanging down on both sides as if it were a mail rug thrown on the horse. The outlines of the horse's body are seen through this metal shirt as if it were transparent. The two circular brands (*tamgas*) are also visible.

It is not the place here to give a detailed study of the various types of Iranian cavalry soldiers: the *sagittarii*, the *cataphracti* or *cataphractarii*, and the *clibanarii*. The literary, epigraphical, and archaeological material which bears on these various types of Iranian cavalry has been collected and discussed by various scholars. I was one of them.¹³ No monuments, however, which portray in sculpture or painting the Iranian mounted warriors give such a complete idea of the uniform of the three types of the cavalry of the Parthian and Sassanian armies as do our graffiti. Cumont and I have dealt with the light cavalry of the Parthians borrowed from them by the neighboring states of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The figures of the *cataphractus* and of the *clibanarius*, however, appear on the horizon of Duran archaeology for the first time. Let me therefore devote a few words to them.

In our literary sources the terms *cataphractus* and *clibanarius* are used almost interchangeably, the term *clibanarius* being in general later. In the existing careful descriptions of the heavy cavalry of the Parthians and later of the Sassanians no distinction is made between what I have called a *cataphractus* and a *clibanarius*. Plutarch and Cassius Dio, who describe the heavy cavalry of the time of Crassus, and Ammianus Marcellinus and Julian, who describe the Sassanian cavalry, giving almost the same description: iron helmets and masks, mailed body from top to bottom, armored horses, heavy spears.¹⁴ It is evident, therefore, that all the soldiers of the heavy cavalry were first called in the Graeco-Roman world by the Greek name of *cataphracti* or *cataphractarii*,¹⁵ while later the Iranian term for them was adopted by the official

¹³ The latest treatments with bibliography are, M. Rostovtzeff, *Ancient Decorative Wall Paintings in South Russia* (in Russian), pp. 328 ff., especially pp. 337 ff.; P. Couissin, *Les armes romaines* (1926), pp. 512 ff.; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* (1930), pp. 73 ff., cf. E. Herzfeld, *Am Tor von Asien* (1920), pp. 87 ff.

¹⁴ Plut. *Crassus*, XVIII, XIX, XXIV, XXV, 4, 6, 12, XXVII, 1, 2; Cassius Dio XL, 15, 2; Suid. s.v. θώραξ; Amm. Marc., XVI, 10, 8 ff. (description of the triumph of Constantius and of his *clibanarii*); XXV, 1, 12 (description of the Persian *clibanarii* of 363 A.D.); Jul. *Or. in Constanti laudem* I, 37 c ff. (Roman *clibanarii*).

¹⁵ The term *cataphracta* (τὰ κατὰφρακτα) is used in Egypt to describe the cuirass of

language and the writers of the late Roman Empire.¹⁶ I suspect that this was done to distinguish the *cataphractarii* of the Roman auxiliary forces from the real *clibanarii* of the Persian and of the later Roman army. If so, there was a certain difference between them which probably would correspond more or less to the difference between our No. 6 and No. 7, the *cataphractarii* wearing no helmets and using horses not protected by armor as a rule. As Tarn has observed, we may trace the evolution of the type of a heavily armed horseman of Iranian origin from the Persian times to the late Roman Empire.¹⁷ First comes the Scythian and probably the Persian mounted hoplite with a *cataphractus* or scale armor of Greek type, a light shield, a short spear, and a Greek helmet. Such a half-Greek hoplite is portrayed on the famous gold comb of the Solokha tumulus in South Russia (fourth century B.C. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, Pl. XIX). All parts of the equipment of such a heavy-armed horseman were found repeatedly in the Scythian graves of South Russia of the fourth and third centuries B.C. Alongside these armored horsemen appear the swift *sagittarii* who are represented on many monuments of the same time.¹⁸ The horse of this period was always protected by a metal frontlet, and probably by a breastplate, but never wore armor. Some innovations were introduced into this equipment both by the Parthians in the south and by the Sarmatians in the north. The swift *sagittarius* remains the same; the *cataphractus*, however, is changed. In the north the grave paintings and some grave stelae and products of the toreutic art of South Russia¹⁹ show that while the armor of the Iranians or Iranized mounted hoplites remains almost the same (less Greek in its appearance, more like a mailed Iranian kaftan), the helmet assumes a peculiar conic form almost identical with the form of the helmet of our

a Hellenistic heavy cavalry soldier in the early third century B.C., *P. Enteux*. 32 and 45 (Philopator and Euergetes I).

¹⁶ In Egypt, ἱππεὺς καταφρακτάριος is still a technical term in the fourth century A.D., while κλιβανάριος reigns supreme in the sixth century A.D. See *B.G.U.*, 316, 6 (6th cent.), as compared with Wessely, *Stud.*, XX, 131, 4; 135, 4; 139, 6; *Sammelbuch*, 4753, 1 (6th cent.).

¹⁷ I traced this evolution in my book quoted above.

¹⁸ E.g., Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks*, Pl. XX.

¹⁹ See my book quoted in n. 12, cf. the silver dish found in Siberia which shows a *cataphractus* on horseback (heavy horse of the type common in the graffiti of Dura) wearing a conic helmet and a vizor of scale armor and a long ring cuirass with sleeves of scale and plate armor and using stirrups, J. Smirnoff, *Argenterie orientale*, No. 156, Pl. LXXXVII.

graffito No. 7, and is often built in the fashion of a "Spangenhelm," and the spear becomes ever longer and heavier, almost the tournament spear of the medieval knights. About the same time both in the Danube region and probably in Parthia armor begins to cover the legs of the horsemen and the horses are likewise protected by a metal shirt and eye-plaques.²⁰ A curious transition is shown both by our No. 6 and by an interesting unpublished terra cotta plaque of the British Museum found in Babylonia (0.19 m. by 0.15 m., Pl. XXII, 1). On the latter the horseman, who is represented on a lion hunt, wears scale armor, both on his body and his legs, and a helmet or leather cap and attacks the lion with a heavy spear. On both our graffito and the Babylonian terra cotta, however, the horse has no armor. Note also that on our No. 6 the horseman is an archer, not a spearman.

And, finally, there is the figure of our No. 7 which corresponds so closely to the descriptions of Ammianus and Julian, the first oriental medieval knight and the prototype of so many a heavy-armed horseman of later Persia.

I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the texts of Ammianus and Julian which ought to be read with the figure of our *clibanarius* before the eyes of the reader. In describing the Persian army of 363 A.D. Ammianus says (XXV, 1, 12): *erant autem omnes catervae ferratae ita per singula membra densis lamminis tectae, ut iuncturae rigentes compagibus artuum convenissent*, humanorumque vultuum simulacra [masks] *ita capitibus diligenter aptata, ut imbratateis corporibus solidis, ibi tantum incidentia tela possint haerere, qua per cavernas minutas, et orbibus oculorum adfixas, parcius visitur, vel per supremitates narium angusti spiritus emittuntur*. 13: *quorum pars contis dimicatura stabat immobilis, ut retinaculis aereis fixam existimares, iuxtaque sagittarii, cuius artis fiducia ab incunabulis ipsis gens praevaluit maxima, tendebant divaricatis brachiis flexiles arcus, ut nervi mammas praestringerent dexteras, spicula sinistris manibus cohaererent, summaque peritia digitorum pulsibus argutum sonantes, harundines evolabant, vulnera perniciose portantes*.²¹ Amm. Marc. XVI, 10, 8 (Roman *clibanarii*, 357 A.D.): *et incedebat hinc inde ordo geminus armatorum . . . sparsique catafracti equites (quos clibanarios dictitant) personati [masks!] thoracum muniti*

²⁰ Cichorius, *Trajanssäule*, Pls. XXIII, XXVIII, and LVII, 206, and for Parthia the texts of Suidas quoted below, p. 221.

²¹ Quoted by Hopkins in describing the suit of chain mail found in 1929-30 (*Rep. III*, pp. 79 ff.).

tegminibus, *et* limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxitelis manu polita crederes simulacra, non viros: quos lamminarum circuli tenues, apti corporis flexibus ambiebant, per omnia membra diducti, ut quocumque artus necessitas commovisset, vestitus congrueret, iunctura cohaerentur aptata.

Jul. *Or. in Constanti laudem* I, 37 ff.: ἄπειρον γὰρ ἦγες ἵππέων πλῆθος, καθάπερ ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ὀχουμένους, οἷς συνήρμοστο τὰ μέλη κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως· ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄκρων καρπῶν ἐς τοὺς ἀγκῶνας, ἐκέϊθεν δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους, καὶ ὁ θώραξ ἐκ τμημάτων κατὰ τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὰ νῶτα συναρμοζόμενος, τὸ κράνος αὐτῷ προσώπῳ σιδηροῦν ἐπικείμενον ἀνδριάντος λαμπροῦ καὶ στίλβοντος παρέχει τὴν ὄψιν, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ κνῆμαι καὶ μηροὶ μὴδὲ ἄκροι πόδες τῆς σκευῆς ταύτης ἔρημοι λείπονται. συναρμοζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῖς θώραξι διὰ τινων ἐκ κρίκου λεπτοῦ πεποιημένων οἶονεὶ ὑφάσμάτων οὐδὲν ἂν ὀφθῇ τοῦ σώματος γυμνὸν μέρος, ἅτε καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῖς ὑφάσμασι τούτοις σκεπομένων πρὸς τὸ καὶ καμπομένοισι ἐπακολουθεῖν τοῖς δακτύλοις. Cf. *Or.* II, 57 C.

This last passage coincides in all the details with the two texts of Ammianus and it will be sufficient, therefore, to reprint the fine translation of this one passage by W. C. Wright ("Loeb Classical Library," 1923): "Your cavalry was almost unlimited in numbers and they all sat on their horses like statues, while their limbs were fitted with armor that followed closely the human form. It covers the arms from wrist to elbow and thence to the shoulder, while a coat of mail²² protects the shoulders, back and breast. The head and face are covered by a metal mask²³ which makes its wearer look like a glittering statue, for not even the thighs and legs and the very ends of the feet lack this armor. It is attached to the cuirass by fine chain-armor like a web, so that no part of the body is visible and uncovered, for this woven covering protects the hands as well, and is so flexible that the wearers can bend even their fingers."

Neither Ammianus nor Julian mentions the coat of mail of the horses. The only writer who does describe it is Suidas whose description of the equipment of the Parthian heavy cavalry is almost identical if compared with the above descriptions of Ammianus and Julian and agrees with the hints which may be found in Plutarch and Cassius Dio.²⁴ He

²² Probably a *lorica segmentata* according to Couissin.

²³ Here the translation is not exact. Julian speaks of an iron helmet which forms a unit with the mask, the latter covering the face. It is just like our graffito. Couissin gives a more correct translation. Is not this type of helmets related to similar gladiatorial helmets and to the "Gesichtshelme" of the Roman army?

²⁴ The description of Suidas was probably borrowed by him from Eunapius. I suspect that Eunapius described the Sassanian and not the Parthian cavalry. One detail

says (s.v. θώραξ) about the horse: ὀπλίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον ὁμοίως σιδήρῳ πάντα μέχρι τῶν ὀνύχων, διότι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἂν εἴη τῶν ἰδίων ὀπλῶν, εἰ ὁ ἵππος αὐτοῖς προαπόλοιτο. This description fits exactly our figure No. 7.

In reading the late descriptions one has the impression that though in general the later *clibanarii* repeated the type of the earlier *cataphractarii* of Surenas, some progress was made in their equipment: combination of helmet and mask, skilful use of various types of metal work for making an invulnerable cuirass, protection of the horse by a heavy coat of mail.

The same progress was made, as Tarn has pointed out, in creating a special breed of horses for the use of the heavy Iranian cavalry. No horse used for the light cavalry was able both to bear the heavy burden of the mailed knight and of its own cuirass and to run fast in a swooping charge. A special breed of horses was required for it. And Tarn has shown that in the late Parthian period such a breed was produced and spread far and wide with the mailed knight all over the ancient world. Such horses, e.g., were introduced into China and from them are derived the heavy horses portrayed in the sculpture and painting of China in the Han period. Such horses are typical of the Sassanian monuments of Persia (see the Sassanian fresco discovered at Dura, above, pp. 182 ff.).

For tracing the history of this breed the graffiti of Dura are of great importance. While most of the horses of the graffiti which represent Parthian mounted soldiers show a usual cavalry horse, some represent a transition between this and the later Sassanian type: the head becomes smaller, the body longer and heavier, the legs shorter. A real thoroughbred of the later type is finally shown in our graffito No. 7.

C. Means of Transportation.

1. House of the Ravine. Vestibule, left wall. 0.97 m. by 0.22 m. Drawing by Miss L. North (Pl. XXIII, 2).

The scene is preserved in its upper part only. The stucco of the lower part fell down long ago when the house was excavated by an amateur in the years between the excavations of Cumont and our own. The scene is unique of its kind. It shows a caravan of camels moving slowly to right, each camel being fastened to the preceding one by a rope. On the back of the first camel is the camel driver shown in front view. There

supplied by Suidas is missing in Julian; Suidas says that the various parts of the armor are held together by clasps (περάται).

are three full-grown camels and a little one behind. The sketchy drawing is childish but full of life. The camels at the first glance seem to be two-humped, but a more likely explanation is that the two triangles on their backs are a schematic representation of the two loads fastened on each side of the hump. It is strange, however, that the small camel shows the same two triangles.

2. House of the Ravine. Vestibule, right wall.

Partly preserved sketch of a rowboat of the type of a large canoe. The rudder is shown behind, the oars are hanging down vertically. Ships of the same type are common in Babylonian and Assyrian art.

3. Shop opening on Main Street. House of the Archives. 1 m. by 1.28 m. Drawing by Miss L. North (Pl. XXIII, 1).

Large figure of a ship moving to right. The almost complete coincidence of the form and equipment of the ship with those of the ship represented on a sarcophagus found recently at Sidon²⁵ and many times reproduced relieves me of the necessity of describing our graffito in detail.

²⁵ G. Contenau, *Syria*, I (1920), 35 ff.; M. Rostovtzeff, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserzeit* (1930), II, Pl. 39, p. 251.

V
REPORT ON FINDS

I. POTTERY

BY A. McN. G. LITTLE

THE major part of the pottery found during the campaign of 1930-31 falls into the two well-established types of common earthenware and *faïence*, the latter well represented both by intact specimens and by numerous fragments.

Of the rarer wares noted previously at Dura two types were found again in fragmentary specimens, namely the Hellenistic black glaze of poor quality on a pink clay, and the so-called Samian ware of the Roman imperial period.

Two fragments of the black glaze were discovered; one a section of the lip of a cup found imbedded in a wall in the Priests' House, the other, part of a small shallow cup or plate about 0.05 m. in diameter, with a vertical rim, marked round the under edge with a pattern of parallel incised lines extending 0.01 m. inward toward the center. The Samian fragments consisted of the vertical rim of a plate similar to that illustrated in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXXI—originally 0.21 m. in diameter, of the supporting base of such a plate, of the neck of a jar with a handle broken off, and of two small rim fragments ornamented on the edges with vertical tooling.

New types were represented by the following: (1) A fragment of the lip of a cup, of a fine orange clay covered with a chocolate slip on the reverse side, and by two bands of chocolate and brown-red on the upper surface. The brown-red band has been cut through to the original clay forming a thin orange strip, on either side of which a series of painted dashes gives the effect of foliage. (2) Two specimens of a green clay, one a round bottle with two handles resembling the smaller types of *faïence* but without a base (Pl. XXIV, 3); the other an animal shape similar to that illustrated in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXXIII, 3. (3) A polychrome two-handled vessel of red earthenware, partially blackened by fire. (4) A fragment of a gray *faïence* bowl in finely sifted gray clay. This fragment is quite distinct from the other *faïence* both in lightness and in the uniform gray of the glaze. Other specimens of

apparent gray glaze are made of the yellow clay, and reveal in telltale patches in the protected portions of their surface an original coloring of green. (5) An almost spherical jar of a dull red glaze (Pl. XXIV, 1) covering a red clay.

For the earthenware and the *faïence* a sufficient number of intact or nearly intact examples were found to warrant perhaps the preliminary classification attempted below. This follows closely the classification of *Rep. III*, pp. 72-77, with the only difference of separating the red earthenware into a class of its own with a subdivision into plain red ware, polychrome ware, and brittle red ware (unbanded and banded), and the addition of the classes of green ware, and red glaze. A further distinction of decorated and plain forms is indicated for these wares, but any attempt at the classification of the decorated types, particularly in the *faïence*, is at present premature owing to their fragmentary condition, and must await further study and comparative material. In the undecorated pottery, therefore, the new shapes are listed under their respective wares by lettering when several examples constitute a type, by the numerals in the catalogue of the Yale School of Fine Arts when the specimen is an individual example. In the decorated pottery a description of the decorative element is attached to the individual pieces.

In the matter of decoration, however, perhaps one thing may be said. While in the earthenware, decoration appears to be the exception rather than the rule, in the ornamental *faïence* the position is reversed. Here attention should be drawn to two fragments of relief decoration, which illustrate the influences—Hellenistic, and Parthian or Sassanian—which are at work in this ware. The first (Fig. 17, left) is a Hellenistic type of head (male or female?) similar to that found on the Rakka vases in the Louvre illustrated by Cumont, *Fouilles* (p. 460), which degenerates frequently into a meaningless boss in the hands probably of a local imitator; the second (Fig. 17, right), of which two examples were found, a full-length figure of Parthian or Sassanian inspiration. This figure has considerable analogies to the applied figures on the sarcophagi from Warka in the University of Pennsylvania Museum. It is difficult, however, to state whether it is male or female. The head is treated in the tripartite style familiar in the Parthian coinage, the Nike of Dura (*Rep. II*, Frontispiece), and the Sassanian rock carvings. Unlike the Warka figures, which are represented sketched at full length, the figure is seated, resembling greatly in pose and material the figure of the Sassanian king illustrated by Herzfeld in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, Année

V. No. 3. Pl. XL, Fig. 11. The top of the body is clothed in a tunic whose upper edge crosses the chest diagonally, while the lower falls between the knees in an ample fold similar to that of the king. The right arm, however, does not grasp a sword, but is thrown across the body toward the left breast, a pose reminiscent of the breast-holding goddesses of Warka. It may, therefore, be interpreted as either Parthian or Sassanian, as either goddess or king.

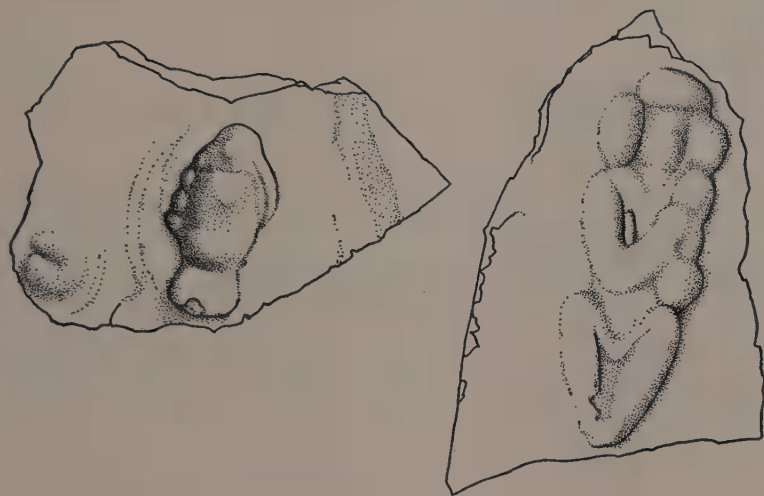


Fig. 17.

A summary of the ceramic finds follows:

Plain yellow ware.

The main four types (A-D) listed in *Rep. III*, p. 72, recurred last year. In addition the following new types made their appearance.

1931.542. Deep bowl. Diameter, 0.225 m. Depth, 0.083 m. The sides rise sharply from a low base. Gray sandy clay.

1931.543. One-handled spherical pitcher on low base. Height, 0.12 m. The neck terminates in thick, bulging top which considerably narrows the aperture. Gray sandy clay.

1931.555. Carafe type. Height, 0.125 m. The sides belly out from the base, contract, then flare out into a wide funnel mouth. Gray sandy clay.

1931.546. Two-handled jar. Height, 0.13 m. Curves sharply from a base of 0.01 m. to a high shoulder, and wide mouth. Sandy gray clay.

1931.541. Jug (Pl. XXIV, 3). Sandy gray clay. A similar type

occurs among what is now thought to be Alexandrian pottery in the Stoddard collection at Yale (cf. P. V. C. Baur, *Catalogue of the Rebecca Darlington Stoddard Collection*, p. 28, Fig. 2, No. 31).

Decorated yellow ware.

A. One-handled large pitchers. Decorated with incised rings on neck. Height, 0.245 m. Three examples of this ware of the same dimensions (1931.533, 535, 536) were found last year, two in gray clay, one in gray-pink clay.

Plain red ware.

1931.544. Two-handled jar with high shoulder and wide mouth. Height, 0.18 m. Reddish clay.

Decorated red ware.

1931.539. Fragment of bowl. The decoration occurs again on a fragment illustrated in Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, Vol. IV, Pl. CXLII, 2b, from Tabus. The vessel had originally four handles, though only two survive. The raised piecrust ornament is limited by a base line and the low neck of the vessel. Within these limits it alternates handles and an anchor-like design. Dark red clay covered with a yellowish wash.

1931.540. Two-handled Pilgrim flask type on hollow base (Pl. XXIV, 3). Height, 0.173 m. The body of the vessel is decorated on each side with a circular design of twenty-one petals radiating from a central boss of interlaced petals. At the circumference within each petal is a small dot. The neck has an incised design of three parallel lines. On one side, the center of each of these three lines is marked by a similar dot to that on the petals. Perhaps an imitation of metal work. Base broken and one handle missing. Red clay with a yellowish slip. (Cf. Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon*, p. 38, Fig. 48.)

Lantern (Damascus Museum). The top of the lantern is broken, but supported probably a handle similar to that illustrated in *Rep. II*, Pl. XLIX, 2b (cf. *Catalogue of Stoddard Collection*, Fig. 16, No. 675). The sloping roof is encircled with a row of sixteen perforations, and a triangle of three perforations over the door. The sides are perforated with three rows of fourteen holes. Red clay with yellowish slip.

Polychrome ware.

1931.545. Two-handled jar. Height, 0.145 m. The sides slope sharply

to a high shoulder. Wide mouth with curving rim. The polychrome effect, which takes the form of a wide band of black from the shoulder to halfway down the side, seems to have been the result of the firing, and to be intentional, as this is the second example of this ware found. The other is 1930.107. Red clay.

Brittle ware.

In this ware, both in its banded and unbanded varieties, examples were found of the types illustrated in *Rep. II*, Pls. XLVIII, 2, and XLIX, 2. No new types were found.

Green ware.

1931.442. Two-handled spherical bottle (Pl. XXIV, 3). Dark-green polished clay.

1931.423. Vessel in the form of a four-footed animal (cf. Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. CXXIII). Two apertures, one in center of back, between two projections, the other projecting itself from beneath the neck. Perhaps a child's feeder. Light-green clay, with vestiges of gray slip.

Storage jars.

The types of storage jar found last season conform to the types already listed in *Rep. III*, p. 74, and illustrated in Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pls. XCV, CXXXIII. No new types were found.

Faïence.

The undecorated *faïence* ware of last season was represented chiefly by several intact specimens of the lemon-shaped pitchers of the previous season; the decorated *faïence*, by fragments of vases with two or three handles of the Rakka type illustrated by Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 460. The new types are listed below.

Plain *faïence*.

1931.433. Partially glazed jar without handles. Height, 0.225 m. The sides slope sharply from the base to a broad shoulder and short neck with molded rim. It is an interesting example of the technique as only the interior and the neck have been treated with glaze. The exterior is that of a jar of yellow earthenware. Three parallel incised lines round base of neck.

1931.434. Jar without handles on low base (Pl. XXIV, 1). Height, 0.205 m. In this case only the exterior has been glazed. Green glaze unevenly distributed. Base unglazed.

1931.431. Two-handled spherical jar. Handles and upper part broken. Dark-green glaze.

1931.432. Two-handled jar. A low body with straight sides sloping out and shoulder sloping in. Neck and handle broken. Fine emerald glaze.

1931.430. One-handled jug (Pl. XXIV, 1). Height, 0.193 m. Glazed only on outside.

1931.454. One-handled jug. Height, 0.103 m. Grayish deteriorated green glaze.

1931.436. Cylindrical jar (Pl. XXIV, 2). Height, 0.135 m. Thin grayish glaze with traces of original green.

1931.437. Cylindrical jar. Height, 0.095 m. High, clumsy base. Short neck with flat rim.

1931.453. Two-handled pitcher (Pl. XXIV, 2). Height, 0.103 m. A squat type of the lemon-shaped pitchers. Poor gray-green glaze.

1931.445. Bell-shaped pitcher without handles (Pl. XXIV, 2). Height, 0.082 m. Molded neck. Deteriorated emerald glaze.

1931.443. One-handled pitcher (Pl. XXIV, 2). Height, 0.076 m. Emerald glaze, damaged by fire.

1931.428. Large plate. Restored. Diameter, 0.27 m. Depth, 0.04 m. Broad rim. Green glaze.

1931.429. Large plate. Restored. Diameter, 0.27 m. Depth, 0.034 m. Broad rim. Green glaze.

1931.444. Small plate. Diameter, 0.118 m. Depth, 0.03 m. Narrow flat rim. In a damaged condition. Emerald glaze, discolored by fire.

Red glaze.

1931.435. An almost spherical bowl (Pl. XXIV, 1). Curving lip above short neck. Dull red glaze over red clay.

Lamps.

Of the twenty-three lamps found last year, the majority repeated the types and decoration of previous years (cf. *Rep. II*, p. 40; *Rep. III*, p. 76). Nineteen were of the Roman type, four of the eastern type (cf. *Rep. II*, Pl. XLVIII). The majority were of common river clay, one of the eastern type being covered with green glaze. One of two with raised-figure designs was executed in a polished yellow stone (1931.481).

New types of decoration were represented by:

1931.481. Erotic scene in relief.

1931.482. Figure of woman kneeling and extending her hand in the attitude of supplication. Rudely rendered in relief.

1931.488. Design of a narrow circular rim inclosing crescent and ball from which depend two streamers encircling the main aperture of the lamp, their ends crossing below it (Pl. XXIV, 3) (cf. the Semitic stele illustrated in *Rep. III*, Pl. XIX).

II. METAL VASES AND MOLDS

BY P. V. C. BAUR

Silver Vase.

From the House of the Large Atrium came the most sensational find of the year, a beautiful silver vase surrounded by two garlands in *repoussé* work (Pl. XII). The vase has the shape of a Greek pelike with a low foot. The shape also occurs in Syrian glass of the third century A.D.¹ Height of vase, 0.225 m., width of mouth, 0.115 m. Along with the vase there was found a silver ring-shaped handle² which certainly belongs to it. This ring had been set horizontally in the lower garland where the latter is interrupted by a circular blank space 0.026 m. in diameter. The blank space is clearly visible in the photograph on Plate XII, 2. On its edge the ring has five grooves, on its flat top and bottom, one groove. Bits of silver, one still attached to the ring, had been soldered on the circular interruption of the garland. It is difficult to understand the reason for adding only one handle of this peculiar shape. Perhaps it was used for tipping the vase to one side. The vase is in excellent preservation except that there is a deep dent and a small hole in one side. When it was excavated it was badly corroded, but through the untiring effort of Miss Mary Nettleton it is being cleaned and to our surprise an inscription came to light on the bottom of the vase. This has been published by Professor C. C. Torrey.³

Around the neck, slightly below the rim, is a wreath of flowers seen from above, and of small bunches of grapes with large acanthus leaves altogether out of proportion to the size of the fruit and of the flowers. This peculiarity is a characteristic feature of the late period. Around the

¹ Kisa, *Das Glas*, Formentafel B 89. In this example, however, the foot is higher and the lip not quite so wide. The difference of material accounts sufficiently for these minor changes.

² Pl. XI, 3.

³ See above, p. 178.

body, a little above the middle of the vase, is a garland consisting of an undulating grapevine with leaves, conventional tendrils of very small scrolls, and small bunches of grapes. Above every dip of the vine is a mask of a satyr to left with disheveled hair, below every arch of the vine is a Bacchic mask to right with hair carefully combed down in wavy lines from the middle of the head. One of the Bacchic masks has a veil-like piece of drapery hanging from the back of the head. The upper wreath is entirely gilded, so too the garland with the exception of the faces of the masks.

The closest analogy for the garland with masks encircling the body of the vase are the lead sarcophagi from Sidon⁴ which belong to the third century A.D. Here the masks, the undulating vine branches, and the grape leaves are remarkably similar in style; in fact, the similarity is so striking that it would be impossible to date our vase before the third century A.D.

On the casket of Projecta⁵ of the fourth or early fifth century A.D. there are also leaves and tendrils which are embossed and gilded. Here, however, the grape leaves and the bunches of grapes have a slightly later shape. It is instructive to compare a still later example of embossed and gilded *rinceaux* on the platter of Bishop Paternus (early sixth century A.D.).⁶ Here the grape leaves have lost their veins, and are much longer

⁴ Joseph Billiet, "La Collection Lycklama au Musée de Cannes," in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, December, 1931, pp. 334 f., Figs. 25-27; De Rossi, *Bulletino di archeologia cristiana* (1873), p. 77, and Pls. IV-V, 1-4 (top of lid, long sides and end of the body of one of these sarcophagi); Garrucci, *Storia*, V, Pl. 354; Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne*, II, 572, Fig. 382; Leclercq in Cabrol, *Dictionnaire*, II, 2, pp. 3282 ff., Figs. 2356-2358. Six lead sarcophagi of this type have been found. I owe these references to R. Zahn. It seems to me that the usual date of these lead sarcophagi—end of third or beginning of fourth century A.D.—is too late. The Metropolitan Museum of New York has recently acquired one of these sarcophagi, but it is of an earlier group (*Bull. Metr. Mus.*, June, 1932, pp. 155 ff., Figs. 1-2).

⁵ Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum* (London, 1901), pp. 61 ff., Pl. XIII, 304.

⁶ Leonid Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Russischen Sammlungen* 2), Pls. 26 and 27, p. 5, No. 6, and pp. 101 ff. This platter is one of the treasure of Malaja Pereshchepina (gouvernement Poltava) found at this village in 1912. Instead of masks there are in the *rinceaux* vases filled with grapes, peacocks symmetrically grouped around a vase (a typical motive of late antique toreutic art), a lamb, a sheep, an eagle, a duck, and other birds. Other examples are quoted by Matzulewitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 103. For the technical process of gilding silver vases by means of a doughlike mixture of gold and mercury, which was applied hot, see Mat-

in shape than the earlier examples where the leaves are quite as broad as they are long. On the silver amphora of the same Paternus⁷ the frieze of *repoussé* work around the belly of the vase consists of *rinceaux* with various objects; especially interesting are the stylized flowers which are the same as those on the wreath around the neck of our silver vase. Very similar, again, are the flowers on the copper sheathing of an Assyrian gate at Balawât, now in the British Museum,⁸ belonging to the year 851 B.C. Here, however, the concave flowers alternate with convex ones, whereas on the vase from Dura all the flowers are concave, that is, hollow in their centers. But to come nearer home. At Hatra on the inner frieze of the south *liwan* of the main palace⁹ vine *rinceaux* occur; they are also found on the stucco decorations of Parthian buildings of Assur, as well as on glazed sarcophagi of the same place.¹⁰ But here the stylization of the stems, leaves, and grapes is so different that it is impossible to see any Parthian influence in our vase from Dura.

We may assert then, in conclusion, that our silver vase is late—that is, it belongs to the beginning of the third century A.D.; that it shows no Parthian influence, but that it is closely allied to the Sidonian lead sarcophagi; that, on the one hand, there are traces of the Assyrian tradition surviving; and that, on the other hand, early Byzantine monuments continue the tradition. The place of manufacture in the Orient cannot be determined, but it must have been somewhere in Syria.

Silver Libation Bowl.

In the House of the Large Atrium were found fragments of a silver libation bowl, the so-called omphalos phiale. Diameter, 0.12 m.; the inner rim, 0.007 m.; depth of omphalos or central boss, 0.038 m.; height of standing base encircling the omphalos, 0.018 m. Enough fragments have been found to justify these measurements. They are coated with silver chloride.

zulewitsch, *op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 2, where M. Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst. Einführung*, pp. 129 ff., is cited.

⁷ Matzulewitsch, *op. cit.*, Pl. 28, p. 7 No. 13, and p. 108, Fig. 23. This also belongs to the treasure of Malaja Pereshchepina (early 6th cent. A.D.). Here the inscription on the bottom gives the weight (not legible); there also was an inscription on the inside of the neck (p. 107).

⁸ Andrae, *Die Kunst Vorderasiens* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte II. Die Kunst des alten Orients), Pls. 512–513.

⁹ Andrae, *Hatra*, II, 47, Fig. 250.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

Vase in Bust Form.

From a shop adjoining the House of the Frescoes came a bronze vase in the form of a negroid bust (Pl. XI, 5). In the top of the head there is an opening covered by a hinged lid which is formed by a section of the hair. Into two rings soldered on the head just above the temples there had once been fastened an arched handle which was free to swing to and fro. About half of this is now missing, as is seen in the illustration. Also, the flat, oblong bottom of the vase, which had been soldered into a groove, is now lost. Height of vase with handle, 0.105 m.; height of head, 0.075 m.; breadth of lid, 0.015 m.; length of lid, 0.018 m.; length of base, 0.065 m.; width of base, 0.03 m. The vase was made by hollow casting. The hair is represented in the characteristic fashion for the negroid type with tiers of tufts ornamented with parallel incisions. The eyes are large and bulging; the pupils are hollowed out, perhaps for the insertion of foreign material—glass or silver. The nose is not so broad, and the lips not so thick as on some other examples; nor are chin and jaw quite so prominent. The head represents an ethnographical type of negro softened down and somewhat idealized. As E. v. Stern has pointed out, there are many types in Africa; some have quite noble forms which approach the white race.¹¹ This is not the place to discuss the types of negroes in Greek and Roman art. Suffice it to say that the early Greek negro types are not naturalistic; first in the Hellenistic period do naturalistic types begin; but in Roman times we have the finest and most realistic examples of the negroid type in art.¹²

Vases of this form were made in great numbers in ancient times; they are usually cast in bronze, seldom in iron. So far as I know the earliest examples belong to the time of Hadrian, witness the most beautiful of all the examples in the Collection Loeb, which is fashioned in the style of a bust of Antinous.¹³ They do, however, occur even later in the imperial period, and cover a large area. Most frequently they are found in Egypt, and in the northern provinces, Gaul, Germany, Britain, and the Danube regions, also on the north shore of the Black Sea, and now in Dura on the Euphrates. In Italy they are rare; I know of only one ex-

¹¹ See E. v. Stern, *Jahresh.*, VII (1904), 202 f.

¹² See Buschor, "Das Krokodil des Sotades," in *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, II (1921), 1 ff.; and E. v. Stern, *op. cit.*, pp. 200 f.

¹³ J. Sieveking, *Die Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb* (München, 1913), pp. 73 f., Pl. 31. James Loeb procured this from the Forman Collection.

ample, and that was found in Ostia¹⁴ which had close connections with Alexandria.

Vases in the shape of a human head, not bust, were invented by the Greeks in the sixth century B.C., and they occur without a break down to the end of Hellenistic times. Almost every collection of antique vases contains examples. They are of clay and are hollow, but never are they represented with an opening forming part of the skull; this first occurs in Roman imperial times. None of the examples in the form of a bust has a spout for pouring liquid.

These observations lead us to a discussion of their use. Sieveking, in his description of the example owned by James Loeb, suggests that it was used as a receptacle for unguents. This is certainly true for examples in glass, where, however, the swinging handle does not occur. Supka, in his report on acquisitions for the year 1912, in the Hungarian National Museum,¹⁵ also explains their use as receptacles for unguents (*Parfümbehältnisse*). Edgar¹⁶ is noncommittal, referring to them as so-called *balsamaria*. What Miss Richter¹⁷ is inclined to call incense burners (*balsamaria*) belong to a different class. This does not seem to me to be the correct interpretation because the hinged lid would not fit tightly enough—vases used as receptacles for unguents have a tight-fitting stopper; furthermore, the peculiar opening in the head is impractical for pouring perfumery upon the hand. Neither can they be incense burners, for they never show traces of fire, nor openings for draft. Even less happy is Schreiber's explanation of these busts as weights to be controlled by changing the amount of filling introduced through the opening in the head.¹⁸ The broad and practical handle for carrying these objects would be most impractical for weights. To be sure, Goessler¹⁹ publishes one from Trier which had been changed from a bust-shaped vase to a weight by removing the handle and by filling the hollow head

¹⁴ Goessler, *Festschrift für Amelung*, pp. 82 ff., gives a list of places where bust vases of our type have been found.

¹⁵ In the *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, cols. 35 ff., Figs. 11 and 12.

¹⁶ *Greek Bronzes*, I, x.

¹⁷ G. M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York, 1915), p. 192. Why she should identify *balsamaria* with incense burners is not clear to me.

¹⁸ Schreiber, *Arch. Anz.*, 1890, cols. 155-159.

¹⁹ Goessler, *op. cit.*, p. 82, Fig. 82.

with lead. I am convinced that Goessler²⁰ has hit the mark in assuming that they were used for storing grains of incense, especially since Alexandria, the principal center of their manufacture, was one of the chief markets for the distribution of incense.²¹ This interpretation also gives a satisfactory explanation for the movable handle, for, if they were suspended from a hook, they could be tipped over with ease to extract the grains of incense from the opening in the head. It also explains the lack of foot.²²

I have assumed above that Alexandria was the principal center for the manufacture of vases in the form of busts. This, it seems to me, may be proved by the fact that they are usually in the shape of negroes, men, boys, and girls. I do not mean to give the impression that all the known examples were made in Alexandria; the type once invented, and, of course, not patented, could be imitated in Antioch or in any other place for that matter.

A very close analogy to the bust from Dura is the vase discovered in Akkerman, the ancient Tyra, on the north shore of the Black Sea, now in the Museum of Odessa.²³ In this case, however, a girl of negroid type is represented. Note especially the arrangement and treatment of the hair, which is identical with that of our head. An even closer parallel was found in Alexandria.²⁴ Very similar in style are the bust-shaped vases in the form of a negro boy: one, found in Egypt, was formerly in the Collection Graf;²⁵ another is in the Hungarian National Museum;²⁶ a third, said to have been found at Siegburg, is in the Provincial Mu-

²⁰ In *Germania* (1926), pp. 40 f.; also in *Festschrift für Amelung*, p. 85; on p. 77 still other attempts to explain their use as receptacles for oil, salves, smelling salts, etc., are cited.

²¹ See Friedlaender-Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte* (10th ed.), I, 380, 424 f., for Alexandria as a center of manufacture of all kinds of goods from raw materials, and for the distribution of the finished product.

²² There are three exceptions to the rule: one from Mainz illustrated in Goessler, *Festschrift für Amelung*, p. 83, Figs. 9, 10; another in the Hungarian National Museum, *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, col. 34, Fig. 11; and a third in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes Antiques*, p. 194, No. 437.

²³ E. v. Stern, *Jahresh.*, VII (1904), 197 ff., Figs. 96-98 (front, side, and back view): "Fellah Mädchen."

²⁴ *Sale Catalogue of Collection Arthur Sambon*, May, 1914, No. 62 (illustrated).

²⁵ Schreiber, *Arch. Anz.*, 1890, col. 157, Figs. 7, 7 (front and side view).

²⁶ Described by Supka, *Arch. Anz.*, 1915, cols. 35 f., Fig. 12. He does not state where it was found.

seum of Bonn;²⁷ a fourth, from Cannstatt, is in the Museum at Stuttgart;²⁸ a fifth was found at Cologne.²⁹ Some of these examples rise out of the calyx of a flower, which v. Bissing³⁰ considers to be an Alexandrian peculiarity. Other examples end below, but only in front, in acanthus ornament, as is common in the time of Hadrian; it is the so-called Antinous form of decoration.³¹ Two bust-shaped vases of a negro with drooping mustache and scarce beard—one from Lyon,³² the other from Strassburg³³—have not only the same arrangement of incised hair arranged in tiers, but also the spur on the handle, exactly as on our example from Dura. The spur is no doubt a debased form of the bill of a duck which occurs on some examples, whereas others have the head of a duck as decoration for the ends of the handle. This is a common decoration in Alexandrian toreutic art.

It is not the proper place in this report to cite all the types, suffice it to say that the negro and negroid types are in the majority. Of the other types, which are rather rare, and which do not seem to be of Alexandrian fabric, may be mentioned in passing: Heracles, Hermes, Dionysus, Silenus, and Satyr with nebris over his left shoulder.³⁴

We may therefore conclude that the negroid vase in bust form which was found in Dura³⁵ belongs to the second century of our era, that it was used for storing grains of incense, and that it is of provincial fabric under the influence of Alexandria.

²⁷ Goessler, *op. cit.*, p. 84, Fig. 11.

²⁸ Goessler, *Germania* (1926), p. 40, Fig. 6 = *Festschrift für Amelung*, p. 76, Figs. 1-2 (front and side view).

²⁹ Poppelreuter, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 114/115, p. 359, Fig. 5a.

³⁰ *Arch. Anz.*, 1903, p. 146.

³¹ See Goessler in his description of the bust-shaped vase from Cannstatt, *Germania*, p. 40, Fig. 6, and *Festschrift für Amelung*, p. 77.

³² Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, IV, 354, 2.

³³ Goessler, in *Festschrift für Amelung*, p. 84, Fig. 12.

³⁴ For the references to these and other types see Goessler, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff. The type of Heracles in lion's skin, and looking to the right, of Hermes, draped, with wings on his temples just in front of the suspension rings, and looking to the left, and of Dionysus, youthful, with nebris fastened over the left shoulder, and looking down to his right, were found in Egypt and are in the Museum of Cairo (Edgar, *Greek Bronzes*, Pl. VII, 27.739—27.741). They are certainly not of Alexandrian, but of some other provincial Egyptian fabric. In the Bibliothèque Nationale a Satyr and a Bacchant type occur (Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes Antiques*, p. 194 No. 437, p. 208 No. 471).

³⁵ Of a second example from Dura only the face is preserved, but it is an exact duplicate of the one discussed above, and was certainly cast from the same mold.

Steatite Molds.

In the Priests' House was discovered a most remarkable stone mold (Pl. X, 1) of exceptional interest because Cumont³⁶ in his excavations of 1922-23 found in the chapel of Aphrodite³⁷ a lead patera or bowl which had been cast in a very similar mold. And yet, a mere glance at his lead patera and at our mold will show that the molds were not the same. In the first place the rim of the lead patera imitates precious stones set in cloisons, whereas an ivy wreath decorates the rim of our mold. The outer and inner circles which border the rim, the outer one heavier than the inner, are identical in both examples. The central medallions, however, show considerable difference in detail, although the bust in the bottom of both represents one and the same deity. In our mold the goddess is surrounded by a laurel wreath which is quite dissimilar in its arrangement of leaves and berries to that of Cumont's lead patera. Furthermore, there are slight differences in the hairdress of the goddesses, although on the whole the similarity is striking. Finally, our mold is slightly larger than the mold which had been used in casting the lead patera; the bowl discovered by Cumont is 0.08 m. in diameter and 0.01 m. deep, whereas the newly discovered mold is 0.087 m. in diameter and 0.012 m. deep.

Let us revert to the borders of these two bowls. The border of the lead patera with its imitation of inlaid stones is oriental in spirit. It was a very popular decoration in Iran and Syria. On the other hand, the border of our mold with its delicate and artistic ivy wreath breathes the spirit of Greek art of Hellenistic times. The closest analogies are to be found in the black-glazed Hellenistic ware with applied white decoration,³⁸ and especially in Apulian ware.³⁹

In the central medallion of our mold there is within a delicate wreath of laurel with small berries at the ends of slender stems the bust of a female figure in front view. She is represented to just below her bare breasts, and is decked out with a profusion of jewelry. Her necklace con-

³⁶ *Fouilles*, pp. 222 ff., and Pl. LXXXV, 1.

³⁷ This chapel is to the left of the entrance to the pronaos of the temple of Artemis, see *Rep. III*, Pl. IV, marked B.

³⁸ See, for example, Baur, *Catalogue of the Stoddard Collection of Greek and Italian Vases in Yale University*, p. 239, Fig. 107, No. 502.

³⁹ Baur, *op. cit.*, p. 163, Fig. 67, No. 267; cf. also a silver bowl from Hildesheim with similar enamel-filled ivy wreath, Pernice-Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* (Berlin, 1901), Pl. XVIII, and M. Rosenberg, *Niello*, p. 39, Fig. 30.

sists of two thin bands of gold with a row of round pearls between them. On the lower band of the necklace are attached six small pendants of gold, three on each side, which fall obliquely above her breasts. Another pendant consisting of a string of four pearls between two thin bands of gold falls between her breasts. In typical Parthian fashion her hair is arranged in two lateral tufts covering the ears, and three tufts on top of the head arranged like a tiara.⁴⁰ Perhaps a real tiara is meant, for the central tuft looks like a flower. A fillet bound around the forehead holds her hair in position. The looped bows of this ribbon, which is tied behind, appear at the right and the left over the temples, whereas its floating ends fall over the shoulders. This is no doubt the *κεστός* which, according to Lucian,⁴¹ the statue of Atargatis at Hieropolis wore around her forehead, as Zahn has convincingly shown in his article on Musa, the Parthian queen, who also wears on her head, as is seen in her portrait, the *kestos* studded with precious stones.⁴² Since the bust of the female figure in the bottom of our mold is nude it must represent a deity. A goddess so richly adorned with jewels, now found for the second time at Dura, is without doubt the great Syrian goddess Atargatis. It will not be necessary to repeat what I have said about her in the last report.⁴³ It does not seem at all probable to me that the crown of laurel which surrounds her bust has any special significance; I believe that it is merely ornamental. Nor can I agree with Cumont who is of the opinion that the laurel wreath refers to the deity—he calls her Artemis Nanaia—as a goddess of war who gives victory over the foe.⁴⁴

As we have seen above, the hairdress of our bust is typically Parthian. The jewelry, too, is Parthian. A row of round pearls bordered by thin gold bands, also the pendant of a single pearl at the end of a straight bar of gold occur on Palmyrene busts. Look, for example, at the Pal-

⁴⁰ Cf. the painted panel of Victory published in our *Rep. II*, Frontispiece and Pl. I, 1; also the Victories in plaster published by Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. LXXXIV. Other examples are cited by Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 224 n. 2, and on p. 225 n. 1. Cumont refers to the characteristic Parthian coiffure on Parthian coins. His surmise that this coiffure is a substitution for a tiara has much in its favor.

⁴¹ *de dea Syria* 32.

⁴² See Zahn, "Ein kleines historisches Monument," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William M. Ramsay*, p. 452 n. 3, and Pl. XIV, 4-6. To the examples cited *Rep. III*, p. 107 n. 31, may be added a small head of Atargatis wearing *kestos* and necklace with disk-shaped pendant which was found recently at Dura. It is of glass frit covered with a silvery glaze.

⁴³ *Rep. III*, pp. 123 ff.

⁴⁴ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 224.

myrene bust illustrated by Cumont.⁴⁵ There the diadem, the bracelet, the fibula, and the pendant on the lowest necklace are more complicated, to be sure, but in all cases we see a border of pearls bounded by gold bands, and from the pendant on the lowest necklace are suspended the single pearls at the ends of bars of gold, just as in our bust. On a silver disk in the British Museum⁴⁶ is found an even closer parallel. There the central pendant of the collar in the shape of a row of pearls hangs between the breasts of a goddess who may be Atargatis. This disk which dates to the second century of our era seems to be under Hindi influence. That there is Parthian influence in India is now well established.⁴⁷ A collar very similar to that on our bust occurs on a seal in the Metropolitan Museum which von der Osten calls Sassanid,⁴⁸ but which is more probably late Parthian. Another necklace of this type is on the coins of Ardashir I (226-40 A.D.), the first Sassanid king; it is also worn by later Sassanid kings, e.g., Narzekha (293-301).⁴⁹

On stylistic grounds the mold is to be assigned to the second century of our era, and is of Parthian fabric under Hellenistic influence.

The opposite side of our mold (Pl. X, 3) was used for casting a metal vase in the shape of a jug 0.0965 m. high; the greatest diameter of the body is 0.047 m., and the diameter of the mouth, 0.031 m. The jug has an offset collar which is somewhat larger than the neck. It tapers slightly from the lip down. The oval-shaped body bulges out from the neck without interruption, and ends flat below with a low ring-shaped

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 64, Fig. 13.

⁴⁶ Dalton, *The Treasure of the Oxus*, Pl. XXVIII, No. 198, and pp. 51 f.

⁴⁷ According to Ippel, "Indische Kunst und Triumphalbild," in *Morgenland*, Heft 20, especially Pl. 3, 5, the frontality of Parthian art is paralleled in the reliefs of Barhut and of Sanchi in India, but it is, to my mind, especially in the composition of those sculptures that we find parallels to Parthian art. Important for the whole question is Rodenwaldt's severe criticism of Ippel's article in *Gnomon*, 1931, pp. 292 f., and n. 1 on p. 293, where the references are given. For the Parthians in India and Bactria see Neilson Deveboise, "Parthian Problems," reprint from *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*, XLVII, No. 2, January, 1931, p. 4; also W. W. Tarn, "Seleucid-Parthian Studies," from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVI, communicated March 12, 1930, pp. 20 and 28.

⁴⁸ See von der Osten, "The Ancient Seals from the Near East in the Metropolitan Museum," reprinted from the *Art Bulletin*, XIII, No. 2, Fig. 117. It represents the bust of a man facing. The bunches of hair over his ears are typically Parthian. He wears large rosette-shaped earrings.

⁴⁹ Illustrated Kondakof, Tolstoi, et S. Reinach, *Antiquités de la Russie Méridionale* (Paris, 1891), p. 332, Fig. 293 (Ardashir I); p. 335, Fig. 296 (Narzekha).

base. The handle or handles were intended to be added later. This shape finds its closest parallel in the Parthian ware of the second century A.D. The jug is, therefore, not only a welcome confirmation of the date of the bust of Atargatis in the central medallion of our mold and in the medallion of the lead patera found at Dura by Cumont, but also makes certain the Parthian attribution of these examples of toreutic art. Jugs of similar shape, but of clay, have been found in the Parthian stratum of Warka,⁵⁰ in the mounds that contained slipper coffins. They invariably have one handle, and sometimes a low ring-shaped base. The Parthian slipper coffins are of the second and third centuries A.D.⁵¹ The form of our jug occurs also in the glazed jugs with two handles and no foot; one of these was discovered in a late Parthian grave at Babylon.⁵² In the same slipper grave was found a horizontally ribbed glass bottle which offers the closest analogy to the lip and collar of our jug, but the body is more globular in shape.⁵³

On close observation the reverse of our mold, which had been used for casting metal jugs, shows a faintly scratched floral design. This evidently had served as a guide for the engraver to finish his design after the vase had been taken from the mold. None of the parallels cited above, except the glass bottle, shows any design on the exterior, but this is not to be expected in pottery.

Our mold is the fourth discovered at Dura. The others which were found by Cumont in his excavations of 1922-23 have been published by him.⁵⁴ One of these, for the manufacture of a patera, has a neat vine branch with leaves, bunches of grapes, and tendrils on the rim. The other side of the mold served for making a lamp, or a lid with a central boss. Only about one-half of it was found by Cumont,⁵⁵ and it is inter-

⁵⁰ Illustrated in Loftus, *Chaldaea and Susiana*, p. 212.

⁵¹ In Babylon those graves which contain Parthian slipper coffins are late. In fact, no later graves have been found there. Just before their occurrence the common type of Seleucid and early Parthian graves are those made of tiles in which the bodies were outstretched just as in the slipper graves. Before that time, however, in the so-called "Hockersärge," the bodies had their knees drawn up. For these various types of coffin see Reuther, *Innenstadt von Babylon*, pp. 218 ff., Pls. 67-72 ("Hockersärge"); pp. 252 ff., Pls. 88-92 (tile graves); and Pl. 95 for the contents of slipper graves.

⁵² Reuther, *op. cit.*, p. 264 and Pl. 95, Fig. 234a.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Fig. 234d.

⁵⁴ *Fouilles*, pp. 256 f., and n. 5. Also at Warka two stone molds of the Parthian period were found, see Jordan, *Uruk-Warka*, p. 69. No. 328, Pl. 97k, and No. 438, Pl. 97g.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 257 n. 5c, Pl. XCV, 2. It is also discussed by Pillet, see above, p. 19.

esting to note that almost all of the other half has been discovered recently (Pl. X, 2 and 4). In this example there is not the slightest Parthian influence.

Is it mere chance that our mold for the patera with the medallion of Atargatis and one of those published by Cumont were found in the Priests' House? When we recall that the Christian monks of Patleina, in Bulgaria, had a factory in their monastery for the manufacture of glazed tiles and plaques (see above, p. 52 and n. 45), we may conclude with a considerable degree of probability that the priests of Artemis and of Atargatis manufactured in one of the rooms of their house metal bowls and jugs from molds. Where they procured the molds is not at present known.

III. STATUETTES AND RELIEFS

Statuette of Heracles.

In the House of the Frescoes was found the torso of a limestone statuette of Heracles (Pl. IX, 1). Height, 0.32 m. It still shows slight traces of color. The god is standing upright and is draped in a lion's skin, the front paws of which are tied around his neck; one of the hind paws rests on his left shoulder, whereas the other hangs over his left lower arm and ends at the knee. The head of the lion, with open jaws, probably covered the back of his head, as in the Ny-Carlsberg statue.⁵⁶ On the palm of the left hand of Heracles rests a wine cup held close to his body; in the raised right hand he holds close to his right shoulder a club. The right arm, except this hand, is missing; so, too, the head and the lower part of the legs.

I do not believe that the statuette represents Heracles *bibax*, for in that type, best represented in a statue in the Bibliothèque Nationale,⁵⁷ the hero is quite unsteady on his feet. To be sure, he, too, holds the wine bowl on the palm of his left hand, as in our torso, but not close to his body, and the lion's skin, which is not knotted on the chest, hangs over both shoulders. How the club was held is not known, because the lower right arm is broken away. Nor do any of the other standing types of Heracles *bibax*⁵⁸ show the slightest resemblance to our torso. There was

⁵⁶ Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, II, 223, 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 472, 2.

⁵⁸ As for example, the bronze statuette of a youthful Heracles *bibax* in the Biblio-

also a seated type of Heracles under the influence of wine.⁵⁹ There, too, the wine bowl is very conspicuous. This seated type is important for it gives us some idea of the famous bronze statuette of Heracles *epitrapezios*, the work of Lysippus; in his right hand he held a bowl, and in his left a club.⁶⁰

There is, however, another type of Heracles holding bowl and club, and to this type our torso from Dura belongs. Characteristic of this type are the knotted forepaws of the lion's skin. It is best exemplified in the well-known bust of Commodus (180-92 A.D.) in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome,⁶¹ and is found in many statues and reliefs of the Roman period.⁶² Here there is no sign of intoxication, so this type must be classed among those of religious or dedicatory significance. The cult of Heracles was not uncommon in Dura.⁶³

Very peculiar in the torso from Dura and in the other monuments of this type of Heracles is the way the forepaws of the lion's skin are knotted. This may have reference to the *nodus Herculanus* which at Roman weddings the bridegroom opened on the *lectus genialis*.⁶⁴

It is impossible to give an exact date to our torso, but, judging from the poor workmanship, and from the manner of representing the parallel folds of the lion's skin, I feel inclined to assign it to the first half of the third century A.D.

thèque Nationale (Babelon-Blanchet, *Bronzes Antiques*, p. 234, No. 561). Other examples of Heracles, unsteady on his feet, are cited by Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lex.*, s.v. *Herakles*, cols. 2181, 2191. See also Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, III, 72, 1.

⁵⁹ Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, III, 73, 6 and 7.

⁶⁰ The literary references to the Heracles *epitrapezios* are collected by R. Peter, in Roscher, *Lex.*, Nachtrag to Vol. I, col. 2967; see also Johnson, *Lysippus*, pp. 98 ff., and Gruppe in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.*, Suppl. III, col. 1114.

⁶¹ Well illustrated in Rostovtzeff, *A History of the Ancient World, Rome*, Pl. LXXXVII, 1; Helbig, I, 432, Fig. 22. For other representations of Commodus as Heracles and the literary evidence, see R. Peter, *loc. cit.*, cols. 2987 ff. For the connection of other Roman emperors with Hercules, see R. Peter, *loc. cit.*, cols. 2980 ff.

⁶² Collected and discussed by R. Peter, *loc. cit.*, cols. 2912 ff.

⁶³ See Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 118; Pillet, *Rep. I*, p. 19, Fig. 5; Rostovtzeff, *Rep. I*, p. 47; Baur, *Rep. I*, pp. 75 ff. and Pl. IV, 3, and the relief discussed below.

⁶⁴ See R. Peter in Roscher, *Lex.*, I, cols. 2947 f., with the important references to the *nodus Herculanus*. That the knot in general has apotropaic meaning is well known. See the remarks of Haug in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.*, VIII, 1, cols. 594 f. With apotropaic meaning it occurs on Greek and Roman finger rings, see Marshall, *Finger Rings*, Nos. 913, 958, 959, 961; and the bronze ring discussed below, p. 250.

Bas-Relief of Heracles (Pl. IX, 2).

This fragmentary relief in terra cotta which was found in the house next to the House of the Frescoes represents the hero leaning his right hand on his club. The lion's skin hangs over his left wrist, and judging from other examples of the type he held the apples of the Hesperides in his left hand. The head is missing. That he is standing with his feet rather far apart has been taken as an indication that the type was invented by Lysippus,⁶⁵ but there can be no doubt that it is earlier than Lysippus since it occurs on the coins of Tiribazos⁶⁶ struck at Issus from 386 to 381 B.C. The type continued to be popular down to the middle of the third century A.D., as is evinced not only by our relief, but also by its occurrence on a Roman sarcophagus in the Museo Torlonia,⁶⁷ where a bearded Heracles is grouped with a female figure holding a cornucopia, perhaps identical with the group on Tableau XV from the temple of the Palmyrene gods.⁶⁸

Terra Cotta Relief.

Of considerable interest is the fragment of a terra cotta relief (Pl. VIII, 3) made from the same mold as the one in the possession of Sarre, which has been described and discussed very frequently.⁶⁹ Our fragment represents what I have considered to be Atargatis⁷⁰ standing in or before an aedicula in the attitude of blessing or protection. Her face is damaged beyond recognition. Our terra cotta differs, however, from the mold of Sarre, in that only the goddess in the shrine is represented, but the hand of the Parthian warrior could not be entirely eliminated because it is too close to the pillar of her shrine. The maker of our terra cotta probably felt that in the original composition the Parthian warrior

⁶⁵ See Johnson, *Lysippus*, p. 207 and Pl. 40, *a* and *b*.

⁶⁶ Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides*, Pl. III, 17.

⁶⁷ Reinach, *Rép. Rel.*, III, 340, 2; Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag Reliefs*, III, 1, 34-37, No. 126, Fig. 126*b*. There he holds the apples of the Hesperides in his left hand. The sarcophagus belongs to the first half of the third century A.D. The type also occurs on Roman intaglios, see Henkel, *Fingerringe*, Pl. LXXVI, 179.

⁶⁸ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 118 and Pls. XLIX, LII, 1.

⁶⁹ Sarre, *Die Kunst des alten Persien*, Pl. 65; Sarre and Herzfeld, *Reise im Euphrat- und Tigris-Gebiet*, IV, Pl. CXLII, No. 4; Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 266, Fig. 58; Van Buren, *Clay Figurines*, pp. xlviii and 191, No. 951.

⁷⁰ *Rep. III*, p. 135. I was mistaken in assuming that both of the columns were surmounted by Victories. There is a Victory only on the right column. See also Hopkins in *Rep. III*, pp. 85, 87, 94, 95.

was missing; he therefore cut only the Babylonian goddess from the relief.

Since an impression in terra cotta from Sarre's mold has been discovered now in Dura it is highly probable that his mold, purchased in Aleppo, also came from that site.

Aphrodite Anadyomene (Pl. VIII, 4).

In the Priests' House was found in two pieces a limestone bas-relief representing an entirely nude goddess standing in a shrine which consists of two columns joined at their capitals by an archivolt so as to give the effect of a niche. Height of shrine, 0.46 m.; breadth, 0.21 m. Height of the figure, 0.41 m. With her right hand she is drying her hair, which falls over her shoulders; in her left hand she holds up a mirror to the level of her face. There can be no doubt that one of the well-known types of Aphrodite Anadyomene is reproduced in this figure. Part of the relief is missing, and the face is badly battered. The workmanship is very crude, and evidently belongs to the beginning of the third century A.D.

The closest analogy is a little bas-relief found by Cumont in his excavations at Dura in 1922.⁷¹ In that example, however, the head and the mirror are missing, but enough of the position of the arms, bent at the elbows, is preserved to restore it as the type of goddess who dries her hair with one hand as she looks into a mirror.

In the free-standing statues of the type⁷² the attribute in the left hand is always missing, but with the help of our modest relief it is now possible to restore with certainty a mirror in the left hand of this type of Aphrodite Anadyomene with which she reflects her image as she dries her hair.

Statuette of Aphrodite.

This marble fragment of Aphrodite (Pl. IX, 4) draped from the waist down, and holding her drapery with the left hand at the height of her loins, is standing on a low base divided in front and at the sides by a groove into two parts. The hand and the body, also the drapery, are very crudely modeled. It was found in the House of the Large Atrium. The right arm and the upper part of the body, including the breasts, are broken away. Preserved height, 0.115 m. There is not enough left to restore the position of the right hand; it was either covering her left

⁷¹ Cumont, *Fouilles*, p. 226 and Pl. LXXXV, 2.

⁷² See, for example, Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, I, 331, 5.

breast, as in the disrobing type of Aphrodite about to enter the bath,⁷³ or the right arm was extended in the manner of the bronze statuette in the Bibliothèque Nationale.⁷⁴ There is, however, a third type of Aphrodite partly draped, namely, the one where she has already left the bath and is drying her hair.⁷⁵

Judging from the wooden modeling of hand and drapery I would date it not earlier than the third century A.D.

Venus and Cupids.

A most puzzling fragment in marble represents the bare legs of Venus preserved only a little above and a little below the knees, and two cupids at her right and left, all of them in frontal view. The cupids stand with legs crossed. The hair borders their cheeks in conventional scallops, and down the back of their heads, in the middle, the hair is braided. Their arms nearest the goddess disappear behind her legs, with their other hands, however, they stretch a large cloth which envelops not only the back of the goddess, but also their own backs. Greatest preserved height, 0.10 m.; width, 0.12 m.

I have not been able to find any parallels of cupids holding drapery behind Venus. However, on the lid of an early Christian sarcophagus in Arles⁷⁶ are represented to the right of the inscription two nude boys who hold a garment or curtain behind a female bust; and to the left of the inscription two draped female figures who hold a garment or curtain behind a male bust. A similar representation is on another Christian sarcophagus⁷⁷ where two cupids hold a curtain behind the bust of a youthful figure; and on a Christian sarcophagus from Rome⁷⁸ two nude boys hold a curtain behind the bust of a bearded man. In this example the youths also hold baskets of apples.

The workmanship is so crude that it would be difficult to give an accurate date and to determine the style. I must confess that I do not understand the significance of the group. It probably belongs to the third century A.D.

⁷³ Reinach, *Rép. Stat.*, III, 103, 5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 358, 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 3.

⁷⁶ Garrucci, *Storia*, V, Pl. 338, 4. For curtains on Christian sarcophagi, see Rodenwaldt, "Cortinae," in *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Philos.-histor. Klasse, 1925, p. 43; on p. 46 Rodenwaldt correctly assumes that the curtain in art comes from Syria.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. 384, 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. 394, 7; cf. also Pl. 394, 8.

Woman and Youth with a Lamb (Pl. IX, 3).

Near the Palmyrene Gate was found, encased in plaster along with an altar, the limestone fragment of a group of a woman and a youth standing on a high pedestal which is divided horizontally into three moldings. The figure of the woman is preserved only from the knees down; her drapery reaches almost to the ground; she wears sandals. Her feet point right and left in conventional style. Of the youth only the head is missing. Preserved height, 0.11 m.

The youth, entirely nude except for a cloak hanging down his back, holds, in both arms, close to his body a lamb. The female figure stands at his right side and is represented on so large a scale that the youth hardly reaches to her knees. It is probable, therefore, that she represents a goddess and that the male figure is a votary bringing an offering of a lamb to her.

Because of the crude workmanship, the clumsy folds, and the poor proportions of the youth the group must be dated not earlier than the middle of the third century A.D. The coin found with it is so badly corroded that it cannot be identified.

Youth Carrying a Lamb.

In the House of the Large Atrium was found a limestone statuette of a youth carrying a lamb in his arms (Pl. IX, 5). Preserved height, 0.055 m. The youth is represented as leisurely walking forward with left leg advanced and bent at the knee. Just below the knees the figure is broken off. The left arm is completely preserved, so, too, the right hand; the long sleeves of the tunic reach to the wrists. The right arm, the entire right side and back are missing with the exception of the right hand, which holds the hindlegs of the lamb, whereas the left hand holds the forelegs of the animal. In front the tunic is decorated, in typical Parthian fashion, down the middle with a herringbone pattern crossed at the waist by a curved line to indicate the belt; this is not visible in the photograph.

The closest analogy is a Palmyrene relief of a youth carrying a lamb in his arms.⁷⁹ It belongs to the third century A.D. On Christian monuments, sarcophagi, and statuary, the lamb is always carried on the

⁷⁹ See F. Sarre, "Eine palmyrenische Relieffigur und der Typus des guten Hirten," in *Studien zur Kunst des Ostens. Josef Strzygowski zum sechzigsten Geburtstage von seinen Freunden und Schülern* (Wien und Hellaerau), pp. 69 ff., Pl. III, 2; Chabot, Pl. XX, 1.

shoulders of the Good Shepherd. Where, however, the animal is about to be sacrificed or handed to another person, it is held not on the shoulders, but in the arms, as, for example, on a Christian sarcophagus⁸⁰ where a youth is holding a goat before him on his arms and is in the act of giving it to an elderly man.

Our statuette from Dura may then be interpreted as a youth about to sacrifice a lamb, and because it is so closely paralleled with a Palmyrene relief of the third century A.D., we may with certainty assign it to the same date. It is in the Parthian style.

Bronze Statuette.

From the House of the Frescoes came the headless bronze statuette of a male figure standing on a flat bronze base. He wears a mantle diagonally arranged and fastened over his left shoulder; his feet are bare. In the right hand, which hangs at his side, he holds a patera; in the up-lifted left he holds what seems to be a cornucopia. Preserved height, 0.06 m. Perhaps it is a household god, one of the Penates.

IV. RINGS

Earrings.

In the House of the Frescoes was discovered a gold earring (Pl. XI, 2) which fell to the lot of Yale University. The characteristic feature is a clumsy amphora with volute handles, the backs of which are decorated with granulated work. The body of the amphora is surrounded by five plastic rings with a dot between each pair of rings down the middle, and a continuous series of vertical dots down the sides. The amphora ends below these rings in a cup-shaped base decorated horizontally and vertically with granulation. Soldered to the bottom are four globules in imitation of a small bunch of grapes. Above the horizontal rings the shoulder of the amphora is ornamented with gold beads resembling grapes surrounded by granulation.⁸¹ It is at this point that the lower volutes of the handles are attached; their upper volutes are attached to the rim of the amphora. Also attached to this rim, between the handles,

⁸⁰ Garrucci, *Storia*, V, Pl. 372, 3; cf. Pl. 396, 6; Sarre, *loc. cit.*, Pl. III, 3. Also on the above-mentioned Palmyrene relief the lamb is about to be sacrificed, because the man wears a sword.

⁸¹ Cf. the similar arrangement on an earring in the British Museum which was found at Smyrna (Marshall, *Jewellery*, Pl. LII).

is on one side an oval-shaped setting for a stone, now missing. Where the oval setting ends above in a sharp point there is a loop, the base of which is decorated with filigree. On the other side of the lip of the amphora is attached a flat band which grows narrower as it rises over the loop where it curves downward and ends as thin as a wire. This pointed end was no doubt inserted into the lobe of the ear. The flat band is also decorated, about halfway up, with horizontal filigree bands placed close together.

The whole earring is very clumsy compared with those of earlier times, and it seems to me that it cannot be dated before the beginning of the third century of our era. To justify this late date let us compare it with other earrings of the amphora type.

The amphora type of earring has a long history. It begins in the fourth century B.C., and covers a large area. In the Crimea, where it is especially popular, the amphora is of very artistic and slender shape. The earliest examples are without handles;⁸² later, in the eastern types of the Graeco-Roman period down to the third century A.D., the volute handles are popular.⁸³ The clumsy shape of amphora is the characteristic form of the third century. Here the sharp outline of the vase, which is so characteristic for the earlier period, is lost by the habit of covering it with incrustation in order to produce a polychrome effect. The Syrian type of the second and third centuries A.D.⁸⁴ often has a peculiar S-shaped hook, the practical use of which is not clear. Those ending below in globules to imitate a bunch of grapes are also for the most part Syrian of the same date,⁸⁵ whereas those with filigree and granulated decoration are usually of the second century A.D., especially if in addition they have Syrian garnet insets. When, however, as in our earring, the setting is of oval shape with the broad end at the bottom and the pointed end at the top there can be no doubt of the later date, i.e., the first half of the third century.

The closest analogy to our earring is the one from the Crimea which was found with a necklace of the time of Sauromates II (174-210 A.D.).⁸⁶ This is a most welcome verification of the date that has been assigned above on stylistic grounds to our earring. Another earring

⁸² See, for example, Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, Pl. XIX, 4, 5; Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, Pl. XVIII, 1.

⁸³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. LI and p. xliii.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Pl. LII.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. LI, 2338.

⁸⁶ See Rostovtzeff, in *Strena Buliċiana*, pp. 731 f., Pl. XVIII, 1, a and b.

from grave 339, Kertch, which makes a somewhat later impression than the one just mentioned, was found with a coin of Rhescuporis IV (239–52 A.D.).⁸⁷ One from grave 440, Kertch, was found with a finger ring of third century form.⁸⁸ From Cyprus⁸⁹ and especially from Syria, the home of this type of earring, the examples could be multiplied with ease, but much of the material has not yet been published, as, for example, the collection of Miss Newton in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem, and the collection in the Louvre, known to me from photographs in the possession of Professor Rostovtzeff.

Another earring (Pl. XI, 1) found in the House of the Large Atrium, now in the Museum of Damascus, is far more graceful, and is certainly to be dated a century earlier than the one just discussed. In the first place the setting for the large central red stone is far more artistic. It, too, is of oval shape, but the rounded base of the oval is above and the point below, as we should expect. Then, too, the setting is bordered with granulation. Just above the large stone, at the right and left, there were originally two much smaller stones of circular shape of which only one is preserved, and above the settings for these are attached to one side an arched loop ending in a sharp hook which fitted into a loop at the end of a long wire-shaped prong attached to the other side. Soldered to the base are two globules, the lower one with two rings for small pendants now lost. The entire length including the loop is 0.053 m.; the length of the large stone is 0.012 m. Exact parallels I have not been able to find; a more elaborate one, also of Syrian manufacture, is in the Louvre, but it is unpublished. The closest parallel, but less elaborate, comes from the Crimea.⁹⁰

In the Graeco-Roman period the chief centers of production of jewelry for the Orient were Alexandria and Antioch, but there may have been many local centers. It is, therefore, impossible to say where the earrings found at Dura were made, but when we remember how large an area is covered both by the amphora type of earring and by those of similar style and fabric which imitate a bunch of grapes without the

⁸⁷ *Otchet*, 1903, p. 50, Fig. 87.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 63, Fig. 89 (earring), Fig. 90 (finger ring); cf. *ibid.*, 1891, p. 146, Fig. 178, also p. 37, Fig. 17, p. 105, Figs. 91, 92, p. 109, Fig. 67; 1905, p. 12, Fig. 51; 1906, p. 81, Fig. 84 (from the Chersonesus).

⁸⁹ de Ridder, *Cat. des Bijoux*, Pl. VII, 351; Perrot-Chipiez, *Phoenicia*, II, 381, Fig. 308 (Cesnola Collection).

⁹⁰ *Otchet*, 1891, p. 38, Fig. 18.

amphora, it then seems probable that they were produced at a large center, and the only one which comes into consideration is Antioch.

Finger Rings.

In the temple of Artemis was found, in 1929-30, the glass cameo of a ring⁹¹ set in a bezel of gilded bronze (Pl. XI, 4). It represents a female face turned slightly to the left. It is a well-known fact that cameos do not occur until the Hellenistic period.⁹² The earliest known cameos of our type—they are very rare—are those of the third century B.C. which were found in the Crimea. Two of these, each with the head of Athena, cut in dark Syrian garnet, were discovered by Ashik in a woman's grave at Kertch on the way to the Quarantine.⁹³ The woman buried in this grave must have been very wealthy for, in addition to these two massive gold rings, she had a golden wreath, earrings, necklaces, and other finger rings, a ladle, a hairpin, and toilet instruments; also a number of magnificent silver vases, which surely belong to the third century before our era, were among the treasure buried with her. Among the offerings was also a stater of Lysimachus who died in 281 B.C., but since his coins continued to be struck after his death and remained in circulation for almost a century, the coin cannot be used to give the exact date of the tomb. The above-mentioned silver vases, however, date the grave without doubt to the third century B.C.⁹⁴

My reason for calling attention to this grave at Kertch is the important fact that the rings with the cameos of Athena found therein are the closest and best analogies to the glass cameo found at Dura. It may be dated, therefore, with absolute certainty to the third century B.C., and is a most welcome addition to the few objects of Hellenistic times so far discovered at Dura. In its original setting with the contrast of color—white for the glass cameo and gilded bronze for the bezel—it must have

⁹¹ Mentioned by Bellinger, *Rep. III*, p. 20.

⁹² For the best discussion of cameos, see Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, III, 152.

⁹³ Anton Ashik, *The Kingdom of the Bosphorus* (in Russian), Part III (1849), Fig. 184; S. Reinach's small edition of the *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (1892), Pl. XV, 15, and p. 57, where the older references are given. To my friend Professor Zahn, Bellinger and I are indebted for the references cited in this note.

⁹⁴ For a list of the objects found in this tomb see Reinach, *op. cit.*, p. 20, and Pls. XXXVII, 5, XXXVIII, 1, 2, 3, 5, for illustrations of the silver vases. A more detailed list and discussion of the objects is given by Minns, *Scythians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 384 with nn. 6 and 7.

been a thing of beauty, although it is of much cheaper material than the rings of the lady from Kertch.

The chief centers for the manufacture of cameos were Alexandria and Antioch,⁹⁵ but since the elegant silver vases of the Crimean tomb show to my mind more Antiochene than Alexandrian influence I do not hesitate to assign not only the gold rings with the Syrian garnets representing Athena, but also our ring, to Antioch. We know from the many coins of Antiochene issues found at Dura⁹⁶ that the relationship between Dura and Antioch must have been intimate in Seleucid times.

In our glass cameo no attributes are preserved, and so it is impossible to identify the lady with certainty. Since it was found in the temple precinct of Artemis it may have been the property of one of her priestesses. If that were so the cameo would probably represent Artemis herself. It is likely that it was part of the temple treasury, the accumulation of centuries, and that, with a few beads and coins, it was dropped by the Sassanian looters.

Another ring found at Dura is of bronze with a plain hoop broadening toward an oval-shaped bezel which is almost flat. The hoop itself is flat within and rounded without; it is not circular, but slightly oval in shape. As is customary in bronze rings of the Roman period, our ring is cast, not hand hammered. The engraved design on the bezel is so crudely cut that the meaning is not altogether clear, though it appears to be a ribbon tied in a double loop with flaring ends hanging from the knot, the whole forming a highly conventionalized pattern. In ancient times the knot was supposed to possess magical properties; it warded off evil influence, and was often represented on rings which were used as charms. As an amulet it occurs also in Minoan, Mycenaean, and Egyptian art in the shape of a knotted ribbon.⁹⁷

According to Marshall⁹⁸ the typical shape of ring for the first century

⁹⁵ Furtwängler, *op. cit.*, III, 155.

⁹⁶ See Bellingier in *Rep. III*, pp. 145, 147, 159.

⁹⁷ See Marshall, *Finger Rings*, Introduction, pp. xxii-xxiii, and Henkel, *Finger-ringe*, pp. 339 f. In the Minoan period a knotted ribbon in *faïence* was found in the Southeast House at Knossos (Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, I, 430, Fig. 308), and similar sacral knots came from the fourth Shaft Grave, Mycenae (Evans, *op. cit.*, I, 431, Fig. 309). The girl with the ruby lips on a Late Minoan II fresco wears a knotted ribbon in the nape of her neck (Evans, *op. cit.*, I, 433, Fig. 311; Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, Fig. 154, and often). For the knot as amulet in Egypt, see Wiedemann, *Die Amulette der alten Ägypter*, pp. 21 ff. (Der alte Orient, 12. Jahrgang, Heft 1).

⁹⁸ In Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Enc.*, zweite Reihe, I, 1, s.v. *Ringe*, cols. 822 f.; see also Marshall, *Finger Rings*, Introduction, pp. xlv-xlvi.

A.D. consists of a circular or almost circular flat hoop which increases in width toward the shoulder, at the end of the second century the common form is more oval, in the third century the rings grow more elliptical again and the shoulder is flatter. In general, this classification also holds good for Roman finger rings found in the Rhine districts,⁹⁹ where there is considerable Syrian influence.¹⁰⁰ Our ring then would belong, according to this classification, to the end of the second century A.D.

A third example is a man's signet ring of bronze; the stone in the large oval bezel is missing. The shoulder of the hoop broadens very much toward the bezel, and is decorated with convex ribs. Within, the circular hoop is flat; without, it is rounded. This is the characteristic form of Syrian ring of the second century A.D.¹⁰¹ A gold ring, very similar in shape, was found at Warka¹⁰² in or around a slipper coffin of the second century A.D., a welcome verification of the date assigned to our ring.

A fourth ring found at Dura is of silver with a plain hoop broadening toward an oval-shaped bezel which contains a carnelian set high above the hoop. The hoop, slightly oval in its breadth, is flat within and convex without. This is the characteristic form of Roman and Syrian rings of the second century A.D.¹⁰³ The engraved design on the carnelian in the bezel represents Athena in a fifth century B.C. type, helmeted, rushing with long strides to right with shield outstretched in the left hand, and lance held horizontally in the lowered right.

There are many examples of rings with intaglios which represent Athena, but usually it is either the type of the Athena Parthenos, or that of the Lemnian Athena.¹⁰⁴ Very similar to the type of Athena in our intaglio is that found in a Tarentine stone mold in private possession; the type also occurs in a lead figurine in the Antiquarium, Berlin. The only difference is that the lance is held upright, and that a burning altar

⁹⁹ See Henkel, *Fingerringe*, pp. 133 ff., 141 ff.

¹⁰⁰ For oriental influence in Cologne, see Asbach, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 66, pp. 78 f.; 86, p. 129; Poppelreuter, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 114/115, p. 370. See also Kisa, *Das Glas*, pp. 199, 239 f., for Syrian influence in Cologne; Lehner, *Bonner Jahrbücher*, 129, pp. 40 ff.; and Leclercq, in Cabrol, *Dict., s.v. Colonies d'Orientaux en Occident*, col. 2275.

¹⁰¹ See Henkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

¹⁰² Loftus, *Chaldaeae and Susiana*, p. 211 (illustrated).

¹⁰³ See Henkel, *op. cit.*, p. 56, IIa, and pp. 264 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Furtwängler, *Antiken Gemmen*, I, Pls. XXV, 31, XXXIV, 42, LXII, 19; Henkel, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXXV, 87, 107-110, 145.

is under the shield.¹⁰⁵ A much closer parallel is on the engraved stone in a gold ring of the third century A.D.¹⁰⁶ Our ring, however, is of the second century.

From a fifth ring is an oval-shaped black stone engraved with a female head to left. The hair is done up in a knot on the crown of the head and in the hair is a laurel wreath. The long neck is cut off with a sloping line frequently found on the heads of early imperial coins. The workmanship is so very good that our intaglio certainly belongs to the early decades of the first century A.D. In style it resembles Graeco-Roman gems. The laurel wreath in the hair points to a goddess rather than to a human being. It may represent Nike.

V. GLASS

Fragments of Syrian Glass.

The most important of the many fragments of Syrian glass found at Dura in last year's campaign is one of milky color with part of a head, frontal view, above which is an inscription ΘΕΤΙΣ, the Σ below the Ε (Pl. VII, 4). Only about one-half of the face is preserved, including the right eye, forehead, and hair, from which project dark-red rays of her crown. It is probably part of a group of Thetis and the Nereids with the armor of Achilles, but the fragment is so small¹⁰⁷ that the restoration and interpretation cannot be ascertained with certainty. In addition to the inscription which is painted in black there are dark-red marks in the field. The face is painted in gold, but the outline is black. Black is also used for the details of the hair and for the inner markings of the face. In all these details the black is over the gold.

The technique is as rare as it is interesting, and our little fragment is of great importance because it throws light on the vexed question of fabric and date. The vase must have been painted before 256 A.D., the date of the destruction of Dura. As for the fabric it is noteworthy that

¹⁰⁵ E. Pernice, "Untersuchungen zur antiken Toreutik," in *Jahresh.*, VII (1904), p. 194, Fig. 94, and p. 195, Fig. 95.

¹⁰⁶ Henkel, *op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 282a; cf. Pl. LX, 1615a.

¹⁰⁷ The fragment is 0.03 m. by 0.04 m., and 2 mm. thick. It was found in the house next to the House of the Frescoes. It is so sharply curved that it is probably a fragment of a pitcher. A probable prototype of our picture is on a lecythus by the Eretria painter, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum, where is depicted on the middle zone, which is polychrome on a white ground, the story of Thetis and the Nereids bringing the new armor. See *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, April, 1932, pp. 103 ff., Figs. 1-6.

the painting in gold is not protected by a covering layer of glass as is customary in the late Roman and Christian paintings in gold leaf on the bottom of bowls,¹⁰⁸ a technique which begins about the middle of the third century A.D.

The closest analogy is a glass pitcher found in Kertch, best published by Rostovtzeff.¹⁰⁹ It represents the transformation of Daphne; in addition to Apollo who pursues her, Pothos and Ladon are also represented. Around the neck is the inscription ἡ χάρις; the figures are signed Δάφνη, Φοῖβος, Πόθος, Λάδων. These are painted in gold; outline and inner drawing are black, exactly as in our fragment, and the milky white color of the glass is the same. Our fragment, as noted above, was part of a pitcher, probably of the same shape as the pitcher from Kertch. Indeed, the similarity is so great that both must have been made in the same place and at the same time. Zahn is of the opinion that the pitcher with the story of Daphne belongs to the third century A.D. and that its place of manufacture was Antioch, where the Daphne legend was localized in the Seleucid period.¹¹⁰ Müller dates the vase about 200 A.D., but Zahn considers this date to be too early. On examination of all the evidence produced by Zahn, such as parallel examples,¹¹¹ I am convinced that his date is to be preferred.

A very remarkable parallel, but only for the technique of the figures, which are also painted in gold without a protective layer of glass, is a cantharus found in 1866 at Cologne. It was formerly in the Disch Collection, but is now in the possession of Giorgio Sangiorgi, Rome. According to Kisa¹¹² this cantharus is a Venetian product of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, but Carlo Albizzati¹¹³ has brought convincing proof that it is antique; to be more exact, he dates it to the end

¹⁰⁸ The important references are cited by Christine Alexander, in her article on "A Gilt Glass of the Roman Imperial Period," in the *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, XXVI, No. 12, pp. 288 f. For the technique of gold on glass in general see Kisa, *Das Glas*, pp. 807 ff., 834 ff., 867 ff.

¹⁰⁹ *Isvestija of the Archaeological Commission* (St. Petersburg, 54 [1914]), Pl. V and pp. 13 ff. It is also published with good illustrations by V. Müller in *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIV (1929), 63, Fig. 5 and Pls. 12 and 13. In both cases the photographs and the description of the technique have been supplied by R. Zahn. The vase was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan.

¹¹⁰ See *Röm. Mitt.*, XLIV, 71.

¹¹¹ See Zahn, *Galerie Bachstitz* (The Hague, 1921), Vol. II, p. 60 to No. 168; *Jahrb.*, XLI (1926), p. 81.

¹¹² *Das Glas*, pp. 442 f.

¹¹³ *Jahrb.*, XLI, 74 ff., Pls. 3 and 4.

of the Roman imperial period. Fritz Fremersdorf,¹¹⁴ however, attempts to date it much earlier, i.e., about 200 A.D.

The Disch cantharus, as it is still called, is of colorless, transparent glass and is decorated with trees, a cliff, and three cupids painted in gold. This decoration is covered by a free-standing network of thick, wavy strings of glass attached to the body of the vase by means of glass rods. The handles are of a very remarkable form and are attached above to cockleshells. Fremersdorf¹¹⁵ collects a number of vases decorated with cockleshells, but the one which comes closest to the Disch cantharus has the handle in the shape of a dolphin¹¹⁶ facing a cockleshell. The same scheme occurs at Dura on the plaster cornice with Bacchic subjects,¹¹⁷ a Syrian product of the early decades of the third century A.D. And so I would be inclined to date the Disch cantharus not as early as 200 A.D., the date assigned to it by Fremersdorf, but to about 230. The same date holds good for the pitcher with the Daphne myth, and for our glass fragment with the story of Thetis. All of them are of Syrian, most probably Antiochene, manufacture.

A fragment of a Syrian *balsamarium* with three tubes,¹¹⁸ now at Yale, is of green glass, but the surface is mottled with brownish and gray spots.

Other examples of fragments reduplicate the fabrics already published by Hopkins in the reports of the last two years.¹¹⁹

VI. SILVER JEWELRY AND BEADS

BY M. T. NETTLETON

Jewelry.

A small hoard of silver jewelry was found last season in the south corner of the Bastion. This has been cleaned as far as possible and found to contain:

¹¹⁴ *Arch. Anz.*, XLVI (1931), cols. 116 ff.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, cols. 120 ff.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, col. 118, Fig. 1.

¹¹⁷ See Cumont, *Fouilles*, Pl. LXXXVIII, lower register.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Kisa, *op. cit.*, p. 39, Fig. 17, p. 41, Fig. 18, and p. 98; Zahn, *Sammlung Baurat Schiller*, Pl. 6, No. 267. The best collection of Syrian glass, containing a large number of *balsamaria*, is that of Oskar Zettler in Munich, see E. von Bassermann-Jordan, *Die antiken Gläser des Herrn Oskar Zettler zu München* (Privatdruck: München, 1918), Nos. 162-174.

¹¹⁹ *Rep. II*, pp. 58, 76; *Rep. III*, pp. 77 f.

1. One bracelet of twisted silver wire, alternately plain and beaded ("pseudo-granulate") with plain ends which overlap; these ends are wound around each other and held in place by silver spirals (0.075 m. by 0.065 m.).

2. Two earrings of plain silver, circular with slight swelling at the base. On one the clasp is the tapering end of the earring bent into a ring with a loop. The clasp on the other is gone (0.015 m. by 0.013 m.).

3. Four rings with plain bezels, badly bent out of shape. The stones are missing.

4. One necklace, composed of two round chains of plaited wire (each 0.14 m. in length). To one end of each is attached a silver cylinder (0.02 m. long) with a loop at its extremity. At the other end of each chain is another cylinder, slightly shorter (0.015 m.) and decorated with "pseudo-granulate" triangles on the edges and with a single row of granulate beads in the center. These cylinders end in a bulb (0.024 m.) with a flat disk on each end. To the outer disk is attached a loop and to this loop a button. On the outer edge of each button is a piece of silver (6 mm. wide) which seems to be the remains of the central disk which joined the two parts together. Crumpled in with this necklace were pieces of thin silver with impressed beaded triangles similar to the decoration on the cylinders (Pl. XXV, 1-2). There were also parts of a plain disk. It does not seem improbable that these may have been the remains of that central disk. The bulb, cylinders, and buttons are made of similar thin pieces of silver filled with lead. The central disk was probably backed in the same way to the width of the piece of silver left on the buttons and then the entire back covered by the plain disk. If such was the case the necklace would have looked as Miss North has reconstructed it (Pl. XXV, 3) and the circumference of the disk would have been approximately 0.16 m., and the diameter of the disk, 0.055 m. by 0.046 m. These data were obtained by careful measurements of the fragments, and the angle at which it was attached was computed from the point at which the button had worn away the loop. The central oval most probably contained a stone.

5. One chain of thin silver wire 0.40 m. long was wound around this entire mass of jewelry. Both ends terminate in a cylinder with a loop similar to the necklace.

Because of the almost complete oxidation of these objects, with the exception of the bracelet and earrings, which are solid silver, it is not

possible to clean or reconstruct them completely. Nor is it easy to assign a definite date as, unlike the other hoard of jewelry found two years ago, no coins were found with them. The bracelet is typical of those found on Palmyrene busts about 200 A.D., such as the one in the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts (1931.137) and, with the exception of the clasp, similar to bracelets found at Dura during the second season (cf. *Rep. II*, pp. 78-79, Pl. XLV, 1). The earrings, rings, and chain could be of almost any date. The necklace, which is the most interesting and at the same time the most puzzling piece of jewelry, seems distinctive enough to be datable. It does not seem to be Palmyrene. Palmyrene jewelry has a great deal of beaded decoration (cf. Ingholt, Pl. XV; XVI, 1), but none arranged in triangular form and no central disk of this kind would be without one or more pendants hanging from it. It might possibly be a Roman piece of the second or third century A.D. (cf. Marshall, *Jewellery*, Pls. LIX, LX, and LXVII), but there is a certain simplicity and crudity which leads me to think that it is quite local, made at or near Dura, possibly at Antioch, and probably near the time of the bracelet at the end of the second century and before the fall of the city in 256 A.D.

The finds from the 1932 excavations, which have just been received, seem to corroborate this. A necklace of plaited gold thread, somewhat similar to the silver necklace though smaller in scale and finer in workmanship, was found in a jar with coins dating from 213 to 253 A.D. The silver jewelry excavated during the second season (cf. Johnson, *Rep. II*, pp. 78-82) was also found with coins dating from the second to the sixth decade, so that with this new evidence it seems more than probable that the jewelry is contemporary with the coins and is Syrian and not Parthian as previously suggested.

The illustrations on Pl. XXVI are pieces of the campaign 1928-29 (*Rep. II*, Pls. XV, 2-3; XLIV, 1; XLV, 1, 2, 5) after they have been cleaned.

Beads.

In the last three years of excavating, many beads, of course, have been found and now that we have a sufficient number and variety, it is time a special mention of them be made. The variety lies in the materials used. Beads were found made of alabaster, agate, amethyst, bone, carnelian, chalcedony, coral, lapis lazuli, obsidian, serpentine, and glass, *faïence* and paste. The largest number of one kind are lobed spherical beads of the melon or lotus type (cf. Eisen, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 20 ff.). These are

chiefly *faïence* with a poor green-blue glaze, wide bores, and crudely made. Two are made of glass. The largest bead is 19 mm. and the smallest, 7 mm. high. One other bead should be mentioned here and that is a lobed *faïence* bead, pear shaped and without a bore hole. There are traces of bronze thread running longitudinally and it seems as if this bead was used as an end bead in a chain of melon beads. There is only one example of an eye bead (Eisen, *A.J.A.*, XX, 10). It is made of blackish opaque glass with eight eyes irregularly placed in two rows of four. The matrix forms the eyespots and each is surrounded by a white ring made of a single thick glass thread. The surface on two of the eyespots has worn away leaving beautiful iridescent glass. A white girdle band is unevenly applied. This bead was found with a group of Hellenistic coins in the treasury of the temple of Artemis (cf. *Rep. III*, p. 20). The rest of the spherical beads are perfectly plain with bore holes varying according to the size of the beads. The materials are glass, obsidian, and bone. The bone beads are flattened at the bore ends and one still has a fragment of bronze thread in the bore hole, which in both is very narrow. There are also plain beads in the shape of two cones placed base to base, slightly flattened at the bore ends. Two of these are amethyst and one carnelian. The shape of the carnelian is more rounded and not as sharply conical as that of the amethysts. In all three the bore holes are very narrow. One bluish-white *faïence* bead is in the shape of a single cone and there are a large number of conical soapstone buttons with a single central bore hole.

The cylindrical beads are of agate, alabaster, coral, lapis lazuli, paste, and glass. The coral and agate are cut off and the others taper at the bore ends. There is but one alabaster bead and that is 0.039 m. in length, with a very narrow bore. The agate beads are slightly convex in the middle and nicely cut and one has a fragment of bronze thread with a loop on the end. The coral beads are interesting as a sign of the caravan trade, but the most striking cylindrical bead is a paste bead of brown and white spirals. To this group may be added a bone bead and a whitish blue *faïence* bead, cylindrical but with the sides flattened and the ends beveled off.

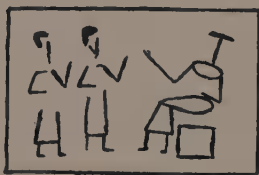
We also have a few button beads without ornamentation and one green glass button bead, oval shaped with transversal lobes outlined in gilt. The under surface is covered with white paste and a narrow bore runs longitudinally. One other flat bead is made of carnelian, slightly

concave sides and having eight bore holes unevenly placed. It has a small chip off one corner, but is otherwise intact. It was probably intended for the center or the side of a necklace consisting of eight rows of beads.

There are also beads more particular in shape and more definitely amulets. Two greenish *faïence* beads are gourd shaped, one flat and one rounded on the bottom. The bore hole is in the stem. Another similar in color and texture is in the shape of a clenched fist (cf. Marshall, *Jewellery*, Pl. LXVIII, No. 2964). And still another is an oval pendant with the face and wings of a cherub in high relief. This seems late, probably third century A.D. and as the city fell in 256 A.D., it must be in the first half of that century.



Besides these beads and pendants are two engraved beads which Professor Dougherty found to be seal stones and describes as follows:



A



B

The engraved seal stones found at Dura are of Babylonian origin. In the accompanying drawings the scenes which have been placed upon them are slightly

enlarged. The original represented by A is upon a much-worn lapis lazuli cylinder. Two worshippers with left hands uplifted are shown approaching a seated deity whose right hand is outstretched. The style of the art is archaic. Comparison may be made with Nos. 294 and 309 in Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, Pls. XIX and XX. The motif of A belongs to about 2400-1800 B.C. The original represented by B is upon a well-preserved chalcedony cone with a lightly convex surface bearing, as the drawing indicates, the result of the engraver's tool. A worshipper stands before a complex of symbols which may be the spear of Marduk and the twin stick of Nabu. See No. 688 in Legrain, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXXIV. The *motif* and shape of the seal represented by B was common about 600-400 B.C.

VII. THE COINS

BY A. R. BELLINGER

Three more hoards of silver coins were found in 1930-31. Of these, the two former, consisting chiefly of denarii, were in the Priests' House and, though buried in separate pots, were so close together and so similar in composition that they were obviously part of a single treasure. The other one, found near by, had been buried in a bag which had rotted away. Mr. E. T. Newell has again placed at our service the *Notes and Monographs of the American Numismatic Society* for the detailed publication of these hoards, and is himself publishing the last.¹ The summaries are as follows:

Hoard III and IV.

	<i>Denarii</i>		<i>Tetradrachms</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Mints</i>	
Nero	1				1
Galba	2				2
Vitellius	2 (Lugdunum 1)				3
Vespasian	26				26
Titus	1				1
Domitian	6				6
Nerva	1				1
Trajan	52			(Tridrachm, Caesarea 1)	53
Hadrian	38				38
L. Aelius	1				1
Sabina	6				6

¹ A. R. Bellinger, "The Third and Fourth Dura Hoards" (1932); E. T. Newell, "The Fifth Dura Hoard" (1932).

THE EXCAVATIONS AT DURA

	<i>Denarii</i>		<i>Tetradrachms</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Rome</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Antioch</i>	<i>Mints</i>	
Pius	30				30
Faustina, Senior	20				20
M. Aurelius	12		1		13
Faustina, Junior	14				14
L. Verus	1				1
Lucilla	3				3
Commodus	14				14
Niger		1			1
Severus	37	55	5		97
Julia	18	4			22
Caracalla	20	4	13	Beroea 1	
				Tyre 1	
				Uncertain 1	40
Plautilla	2				2
Geta	3		3	Tyre 2	8
Macrinus			1	Aradus 1	
				Mopsus 1	3
Diadumenianus				Tyre 1	1
	310	65	23	8	407
		(including 1 Lugdunum)		(plus 1 Tridrachm)	

Hoard V.

- 15 Tetradrachms issued at Antioch between 47 and 20 B.C. bearing posthumous Philip
Philadelphus types

Dated (First series): Δ (1), Γ (1), Θ (2), IB (?) (1), Illegible dates (2)

(Second series): ΘI (1), K (1), KA (1), ΓK (1), Illegible dates (4)

- 5 Tetradrachms issued at Antioch under Nero

Dated: Γ, HP (1); Z, ΘP (3), Illegible date (1)

- 1 Tetradrachm issued at Antioch under Galba

Dated: ETOYC NEOY IEPOY B

- 1 Tetradrachm issued at Antioch under Titus

Dated: NEOY ETOYC Γ

- 1 Roman denarius of Trajan

- 2 Roman denarii of Marcus Aurelius

- 1 Roman denarius of Lucius Verus

- 1 Roman denarius of Commodus

- 1 Roman denarius of Crispina

- 1 Antoninianus (Antioch Mint) of Valerian

29 Total pieces

These complement our previous finds in certain important particulars. In the first place, it shows that the first issues of Roman silver in Syria were current at Dura. The tetradrachms of the type of Philip Philadelphus with which Hoard V begins were imitations of Seleucid coinage put out by the Romans when they took charge of affairs in Antioch. The issues began in 47 B.C.; the first of our coins in 46 B.C., eighty-six years earlier than the earliest Roman piece previously found. The tetradrachms of Nero, Galba, Titus, and Marcus Aurelius from these hoards, together with the evidence for Hadrianic tetradrachms previously discussed (*Rep. III*, pp. 146-148), bridge the gap to Septimius Severus and allow us to believe that this denomination from the Antioch mint was standard in Dura from the beginning of Roman domination in Syria; after Septimius Severus we have an abundance of finds to prove the point.

The series of small silver also is now established as far back as Nero, but it is remarkable that, of the 239 denarii before Pescennius Niger found so far (230 of them in Hoards III and IV), only one might perhaps have been struck at Antioch. Of course, that mint was not striking denarii continuously, and the two hoards may have been collected elsewhere and imported into Dura, so that we need not allow this peculiarity to offset the other evidence of the town's dependence on the mother city of Syria. The Trajanic tridrachm from Caesarea and the tetradrachm of Marcus Aurelius are isolated examples of higher denominations of the second century.

Among the casual finds, the proportion of Seleucid coins this year is nothing like as large (between 3 and 4 per cent identified as against 20 per cent last year). This is due to the nature of the sites dug; the most prolific were private houses of the Roman period. None the less, three rulers were added: Antiochus IV, Epiphanes; Antiochus VII, Sidetes; and Antiochus IX, Cyzicenus—giving a total of twelve reigns represented. The pieces were found in all parts of the dig, but they were thickest in the House of the Cistern or Large Atrium.

From the same building came the three Parthian coins, which we were able to identify, together with four illegible ones whose fabrics show that they are late. The dates, 57-37 B.C., 14/15 A.D. and 147-91 A.D., may perhaps be significant, though it is perilous to press such scanty evidence. The first might fall before the earliest of the Roman tetradrachms referred to above (46 B.C.), while the two series of these tetradrachms were separated by the period from 38-31, B.C., into which

falls the reign of Phraates IV, two of whose drachms were found last year (*Rep. III*, Nos. 43, 44). The later ones show no more than that Parthian coins might stray to Dura in years when she was regularly supplied with Roman money, but that they came sporadically and could not establish themselves in opposition to the imperial currency.

The three coins of Palestine and Phoenicia come from the latter days of Seleucid power.

Now that we have certain evidence for the presence of Trajan (or at least of his army) in the city, it is no longer surprising to find Roman coins from the period before 165, which was previously taken as the date of Roman entry. We might expect to see Trajan himself better represented among the finds. But it is not until we reach Septimius Severus that we deal with numbers large enough to be significant. As may be seen from the "Recapitulation by Roman Emperors" this season's figures run reasonably parallel to the previous ones. A coin of Maximinus from Nicomedia is the rarity of the season.

The most striking thing about the mints represented is the high proportion (over 12 per cent) of Pontic coins. It seems too large to be accounted for by the hypothesis that they were all brought in by troops from the Pontus (*Rep. III*, p. 166), though that is always a possible explanation. Perhaps recruiting is the simplest way to account for the five Peloponnesian pieces to be added to the two of last year.

Nearly a third of the season's coins came from one building: that next the House of the Frescoes. The list, stretching from 226 B.C. to 256 A.D., is instructive as showing the accumulation in a house which must have been inhabited throughout the life of the city.

House next House of the Frescoes.

Seleucus III	1	Geta	2
Antiochus VII	1	Macrinus	3
Antiochus VIII	1	Elagabalus	31
Augustus	1	Severus Alexander	48
Claudius	6	Gordian III	83
Vespasian	1	Philip	56
Domitian	2	Trajan Decius	2
Trajan	1	Trebonianus Gallus	6
Antoninus Pius	2	Valerian	2
Septimius Severus	10		
Caracalla	46	Total	305

A summary list follows of the coins identified since the last Report.

SELEUCIDS

*(All from the mint of Antioch)**Seleucus I, Nicator, 306-281 B.C.*

1. Head of Pallas, r., in Corinthian helmet. *Rev.* Nike, l., holding wreath and palm; before her, inverted anchor. 18 mm.
B.M.C., Seleucid Kings, p. 5, Nos. 44, 45.

Antiochus I, Soter, 293-261 B.C.

2. Head of Antiochus, l., laur. *Rev.* Apollo seated r. on omphalos. 12 mm.
Op. cit., p. 10, No. 25.

Seleucus III, Ceraunus, 226-221 B.C.

- 3-8. Head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Apollo seated l. on omphalos. 8-17 mm.
Bab., p. 42, Nos. 31 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 6-15.

Antiochus III, The Great, 222-187 B.C.

- 9-15. Head of Apollo, r. *Rev.* Apollo standing l., holding bow. 6-13 mm.
Op. cit., p. 54, Nos. 405 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 17-24.

Antiochus IV, Epiphanes, 175-164 B.C.

16. Head of Antiochus, r. *Rev.* Zeus standing l. 18 mm.
B.M.C., Seleucid Kings, p. 37, Nos. 32, 33.

Antiochus VII, Sidetes, 138-129 B.C.

17. Bust of Eros, r. *Rev.* Headdress of Isis. 18 mm.
Op. cit., p. 73, Nos. 49, 50.

Antiochus VIII, Grypus, 125-96 B.C.

- 18-22. Head of Antiochus, r., rad. *Rev.* Eagle, l., with scepter. 19-20 mm.
Bab., pp. 177, 178, Nos. 1368 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 39-42.

Antiochus IX, Cyzicenus, 116-95 B.C.

23. Head of bearded Heracles, r., diad. *Rev.* Pallas, l., holding Nike, shield and spear. 20 mm.
B.M.C., Seleucid Kings, p. 93, Nos. 24, 25.

PARTHIANS

Orodes I, 57-37 B.C.

24. Bust of Orodes, l. *Rev.* Orodes seated l. on throne holding Nike. Tetradrachm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, Parthia, p. 73, Nos. 34-36.

Artabanus III, 10-40 A.D.

25. Bust of Tyche, r. *Rev.* Monogram, surrounded by BOYΛHC Above ΓKT
= 326 = 14/15 A.D. 18 mm.
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris.
Op. cit., p. xliii n.

Vologeses III, 147-91 A.D.

26. Bust of Vologeses, l. *Rev.* Tyche (of Seleucia?) seated l.; in front, palm branch. 19 mm.
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris(?).
Op. cit., p. 233, Nos. 77 ff.

PALESTINE

John Hyrcanus I, 135-104 B.C.

27. Semitic inscription in wreath. *Rev.* Double cornucopia. 13 mm.
B.M.C., Palestine, pp. 188 ff. *Rep. III*, No. 50.

Alexander Jannaeus, 105-78 B.C.

28. Anchor with two cross pieces. *Rev.* Wheel of eight spokes. 16 mm.
Op. cit., p. 207.

PHOENICIA

ARADUS

Post-Alexandrine, 172-142 B.C.

29. Head of Zeus, r. *Rev.* Triple pointed ram of galley, l. 15 mm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, Phoenicia, pp. 16-19.

MESOPOTAMIA

CARRHAE

Caracalla, 212-17 A.D.

30. Bust, r. *Rev.* Crescent with star. 22 mm.
B.M.C., Arabia, etc., p. 84, No. 15.

- 31-38. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 14-19 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 85, 86. *Rep. III*, Nos. 58-66.

Gordian III, 238-44.

- 39-75. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 30-31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 89, No. 55. *Rep. III*, Nos. 68-75.
 76-85. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 30-31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 89, No. 57.
 86, 87. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Crescent. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 90.

EDESSA

Septimius Severus, 193-211, and *Abgar VIII*, 179-214.

88. Bust of Severus, r. *Rev.* Bust of Abgar, r.; scepter before face. 22 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 94 f. *Rep. III*, Nos. 76-78.
 89. Bust of Severus, r. *Rev.* Bust of Abgar, r. without scepter. 18 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 95 f.

Elagabalus, 218-22.

- 90-94. Bust, l., laur. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 27 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 99 f., Nos. 55 f.
 95-98. Bust, l., with shield. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 100, No. 60.
 99. Bust, l., with shield. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 24 mm.
 Nothing of this size with this combination of types is given in *B.M.C.*,
 but the style and fabric are unmistakable, though the piece is in very bad
 condition.

Severus Alexander, 222-35.

100. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 104, Nos. 82-85.
 101. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 33 mm.
Op. cit., p. 105.
 102. Head, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 32 mm.
Cf. op. cit., p. 105.
 103-109. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 24 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 106, 107. *Rep. III*, Nos. 84-93.

Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, 222-35.

- 110-115. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 28 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 109 f. *Rep. III*, No. 94.

Julia Mamaea, 222-35.

- 116-121. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 23 mm.
Op. cit., p. 110, No. 121.

Gordian III, 238-44.

122. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 111. *Rep. III*, No. 95.

Gordian III, 238-44, and Abgar X, 242-44.

- 123-130. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* On l., Gordian seated; on r., Abgar standing. 33 mm.
Op. cit., p. 113, No. 136.
 131-133. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* On l., Gordian seated; on r., Abgar standing. 33 mm.
Op. cit., p. 113, No. 139.
 134. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* On l., Gordian standing; on r., Abgar standing. 33 mm.
Op. cit., p. 114, No. 140.
 135-184. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Abgar, r. 24 mm.
Op. cit., p. 115, Nos. 149 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 96-108.
 185, 186. Bust, l., laur. with scepter. *Rev.* Bust of Abgar, r. 24 mm.
Op. cit., p. 116, No. 158.

NESIBI

Severus Alexander, 222-35.

- 187-227. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 26-29 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 119 f., Nos. 4-7. *Rep. III*, Nos. 109-114.
 228-231. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r.; before and behind, stars. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 120, No. 5.

Severus Alexander and Julia Mamaea, 222-35.

- 232, 233. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 120, No. 8.

Julia Mamaea, 222-35.

- 234-236. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 120, No. 10.

Gordian III, 238-44.

237. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 121, Nos. 11-13. *Rep. III*, No. 115.

Philip, Senior, 244-49.

238. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 26 mm.
Op. cit., p. 122, Nos. 17-20. *Rep. III*, Nos. 117-119.
239. Bust, l., with shield. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 122, No. 21.

Otacilia, 244-49.

240. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 25 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 123 f., Nos. 27 ff.

Philip, Junior, 244-49.

- 241-243. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 25-27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 122, Nos. 22, 23.

RHESAENA

Severus Alexander, 222-35.

244. Bust, l., with shield. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 25 mm.
Op. cit., p. 126, Nos. 5-8.

Trajan Decius, 249-51.

245. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple, three-quarters, l. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 128, Nos. 16-19.
246. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche standing, l., sacrificing. 27 mm.
Cf. op. cit., p. 132, No. 39 (Decius and Herennius).

SINGARA

Gordian III, 238-44.

- 247-258. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 25 mm.
Op. cit., p. 134, No. 3.
- 259-266. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 25 mm.
Op. cit., p. 134, No. 4. *Rep. III*, Nos. 125-128.

Gordian III and Tranquillina, 238-44.

- 267-272. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 135, Nos. 8-11. *Rep. III*, Nos. 129, 130.

SYRIA

ANTIOCH

Augustus, 17 B.C.—14 A.D.

- 273, 274. Head, r. *Rev.* Inscription in wreath. 27 mm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., pp. 167 f., Nos. 133 ff.

Claudius, 41–54 A.D.

- 275–295. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 26–28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 171, Nos. 166–168. *Rep. III*, Nos. 131–134.

Nero, 54–68.

296. Head, r., laur. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 20 mm.
Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 173, No. 185.

Vespasian, 69–79.

297. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 26 mm.
Op. cit., p. 177, No. 221.
298. Head, l. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 177, Nos. 216 ff. *Rep. III*, No. 135.

Domitian, 81–96.

299. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 25 mm.
Op. cit., p. 180, Nos. 240 ff. *Rep. III*, No. 137.
300. Head, l. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 25 mm.
Op. cit., p. 181, Nos. 245 f. *Rep. III*, Nos. 138–140.
301. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 26 mm.
Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 181, Nos. 245 ff.

Nerva, 96–98.

- 302, 303. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 182, Nos. 259 ff. *Rep. III*, No. 141.

Trajan, 98–117.

304. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 183, No. 270.
305. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* S C in wreath; inscription around. Semis.
Cf. *R.I.C.*, II, p. 291, No. 660.

Antoninus Pius, 138-61.

306. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 27 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., pp. 189, 190.

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

307. Bust, r. *Rev.* LIBERAL AVG. Liberalitas seated, 1. Denarius.
 Cohen, IV, 33, No. 287.
 308. Bust, r. *Rev.* MONET AVG. Moneta standing, 1. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 37, No. 329.

Geta, 212.

309. Bust, r. *Rev.* Eagle, r., on leg and thigh. Tetradrachm.
 Attribution doubtful.

Diadumenianus, 217-18.

310. Bust, r. *Rev.* Eagle, head l. Tetradrachm.
 The *obv.* inscription looks as though it were ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΙΝΙΝΟC ΚΑΙ (cf. the Latin coins), but there is no such inscription published. The symbol on the *rev.* has corroded away, but the eagle looks very much like Hoard I, Plate III, No. 19. As that piece is only doubtfully attributed to Aradus, this is included under Antioch for the sake of conservatism.
 311. Head, r. *Rev.* S C in a wreath. 20 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 201, Nos. 407 ff.

Elagabalus, 218-22.

- 312-318. B 1.² Tetradrachm.
 Hoard I, 24-50.
 319. C 1. Tetradrachm.
 Hoard I, 51, 52.
 320-324. B 2. Tetradrachm.
 Hoard I, 53-59.
 325. C 2. Tetradrachm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 212, No. 423.
 326. Bust, r. *Rev.* S C in wreath. 18 mm.
Op. cit., p. 203, Nos. 406 ff.
 327-354. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, 1. 32-35 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 205 f., Nos. 451 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 149-152.
 355-366. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, 1.; crescent in field. 33 mm.
Op. cit., p. 206, Nos. 457, 458.

² The letters and figures in the description of tetradrachms and Antoniniani refer to types as arranged in the publication of Hoards I and II.

367. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l.; without Aries above. 25 mm.
Op. cit., p. 207, Nos. 464-467.

Severus Alexander, 222-35.

368. Bust, r. *Rev.* PM TRP VII COS II PP Pax running, l. Denarius.
 Cohen, IV, 435, No. 348.
369. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 30 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 207, Nos. 470 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 154-158.
- 370-379. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, between standing Tyche and Emperor.
 32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 208, Nos. 475, 476.
- 380-383. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 33 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 209 f., Nos. 484 ff. *Rep. III*, Nos. 160-162.

Julia Mamaea, 222-35.

- 384-386. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 33 mm.
Op. cit., p. 210, Nos. 490, 491.
387. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 210, Nos. 492, 493. *Rep. III*, No. 163.

Gordian III, 238-44.

- 388, 389. A 1. Tetradrachm.
 Hoard I, 61-65.
- 390, 391. A 3. Tetradrachm.
 Hoard I, 69-71.
392. A 5. Tetradrachm.
 Hoard I, 77, 78.
393. Type doubtful. Tetradrachm.
- 394-396. B 7. FORTVNA REDVX. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 91-102.
- 397, 398. B 8. IOVI STATORI. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 103-109.
- 399-401. B 9. AETERNITATI AVG. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 110-113.
- 402-404. B 10. LAETITIAE AVG N. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 114, 115.
- 405, 406. B 12. MARTEM PROPVGNATOREM. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 123-130.
407. B 13. FELICITAS TEMPORVM. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 131-137.
408. B 15. PM TRPV COSII PP. Antoninianus.
 Hoard I, 146-148.

409. B 16. SECVRITAS PERPETVA. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 149-160.
410. B 17. VICTORIA AETERNA. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 161-168.
411. B 18. PROVIDENTIA AVG. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 169-173.
412. B 19. FIDES MILITVM. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 174, 175.
413. B 20. ORIENS AVG. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 176-185.
- 414-417. B 22. SAECVLI FELICITAS. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 187-198.
418. A. *Rev.* FIDES MILITVM. Fides standing, l. Antoninianus.
Cohen, V, 30, No. 86.
419. B. *Rev.* PIETAS AVGVSTI. Pietas standing facing. Antoninianus.
Op. cit., V, 40, No. 185.
420. B. *Rev.* PM TRP IIII COS II PP. Gordian standing, r. Antoninianus.
Op. cit., V, 46, No. 253.
421. B. *Rev.* PM TRP VI COS II PP. Apollo seated, l. Antoninianus.
Op. cit., V, 48, No. 272.
422. A. *Rev.* PM TRP II COS PP. The sun standing half left, nude, r. arm raised, globe in l. hand, mantle falling over l. shoulder and l. arm. Antoninianus.
Not in Cohen.
423. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* VIRTVTI AVGVSTI. Hercules leaning on club. Quinarius.
Op. cit., V, 67, No. 405.

Philip, Senior, 244-49.

424. A 1 a. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 219-230.
425. A 1 c. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 233-237.
- 426, 427. C 2. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 242-248.
428. D 6 b. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 277-279.
- 429-432. D 6 d. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 280-283.
433. E 6 a. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 284, 285.

434. E 6 b. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 286.
435. E 6 c. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 287.
- 436-439. E 6 d. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 288, 289.
440. G 6 a. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 290.
441. I 6 d. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 293.
- 442-446. D 7. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 304-310.
447. E 7. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 311, 312.
448. F 7. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 313-316.
449. D 8. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 350-358.
450. F 8. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 362.
- 451, 452. Type uncertain. Tetradrachm.
- 453-462. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r.; star below. 28 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 215, No. 527.
463. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r.; without star. 31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 215, No. 528.
- 464, 465. Bust, l., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r.; star below. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 215, Nos. 529 f.
- 466, 467. Bust, l., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 29 mm.
Op. cit., p. 215, No. 531.

Philip, Senior, and Philip, Junior, 244-49.

- 468-470. Busts confronted, laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 216, No. 535.

Otacilia, 244-49.

471. N 2. Tetradrachm.
Cf. Hoard I, 249-251, 264.
- 472, 473. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 217, No. 543.

Philip, Junior, 244-49.

474. Q 6 a. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 299.

475. U 6 b. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 300, 301.

476, 477. T 7. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 320-347.

478. T 8. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 363-380.

479-484. Bust, r., bare. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28-33 mm.

B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 219, Nos. 564 f. *Rep. III*, Nos. 169-171.

485-492. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r.; star below. 32 mm.

Op. cit., p. 219, Nos. 566 ff.

493-497. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, r. 28-32 mm.

Op. cit., p. 219, Nos. 573 f. *Rep. III*, No. 172.

498, 499. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l.; star below; letters in field reversed. 32 mm.

Op. cit., p. 220, No. 577.

500. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l.; star below; inscription retrograde; letters in field reversed. 28 mm.

Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 220, No. 577.

Trajan Decius, 249-51.

501. A 1. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 385.

502. D 1. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 429.

503. D . . . 1. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 438-441.

504. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 33 mm.

B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 222, Nos. 600 f. *Rep. III*, No. 175.

Herennius Etruscus, 249-51.

505. H 2. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 530 f.

Trebonianus Gallus, 251-53.

506. A 2 2 z. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 538 f.

507. B . 1A. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 540-549.

508. B . 2A. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 568-574.

509. B 𐌆 3 𐌆. Tetradrachm.

Hoard I, 603-605.

510. B . . 6B. Tetradrachm.
Cf. Hoard I, 632.
511. A . . . 4 . . . IVNO MARTIALIS. Antoninianus.
Cf. Hoard I, 674-676.
512. A IV 4 IV IVNO MARTIALIS. Antoninianus.
Cf. Hoard I, 674-676.
513. A 8 (no officina mark). ROMAE AETERNAE AVG. Antoninianus.
Cf. Hoard I, 685 f.
514. Reverse illegible. Antoninianus.
515. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 33 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 229, Nos. 654 f.

Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, 251-53.

516. Busts confronted. *Rev.* Temple with four columns. 32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 229, Nos. 656 f. *Rep. III*, No. 179.

Valerian, 253-60.

517. B 5. SALVS AVGG. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 729-735.
518. B 8. VIRTVS AVGG. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 751-759.
519. Type doubtful. LAETITIAE AVGG.? Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 696-701? or 771-779?

Gallienus, 253-68.

520. C 6. VENVS VICTRIX. Antoninianus.
Hoard I, 739-743.

BEROEA

Trajan, 98-117, to Antoninus Pius, 138-61.

521. *Obv.* Illegible. *Rev.* Inscription in wreath. 22 mm.
Cf. *B.M.C.*, Galatia, etc., pp. 130 ff.

DAMASCUS

Trebonianus Gallus? 251-53.

522. Bust, r. *Rev.* Doe standing, r., suckling child. 30 mm.
Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 288, No. 29. All details obscure, but assignment to mint probable.

HIEROPOLIS

Lucius Verus, 161-69.

523. Head, l., laur. *Rev.* Inscription in wreath. 25 mm.
Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 142, Nos. 32 ff.

Commodus, 177-92.

524. Head, r. *Rev.* Inscription in wreath. 20 mm.
Op. cit., p. 142, No. 39. Doubtful.

Caracalla, 212-17.

525. Head, r. *Rev.* Inscription in wreath. 25 mm.
Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 143, No. 45.

Philip, Junior, 244-49.

526. Bust, r. *Rev.* Atargatis riding r. on a lion. 30 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 145 f.

LAODICEA-AD-MARE

Antoninus Pius, 138-61.

527. Bust, r. *Rev.* Bust of Tyche, l. 25 mm.
Op. cit., pp. 255 f., Nos. 61 ff.

TYANA

Caracalla, 212-17.

528. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tyche seated, l. 32 mm.
Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 99, Nos. 14 f.

ZEUGMA

Philip, Junior, 244-49.

529. Bust, r. *Rev.* Temple and peribolus. 31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 128, No. 40.

CILICIA

TARSUS

Macrinus, 217-18.

- 530, 531. *Rev.* Symbol: three Graces in wreath. Tetradrachm.
Hoard I, 16.

CAPPADOCIA

CAESAREA

Marcus Aurelius, 161-80.

532. Head, r. *Rev.* Mount Argaeus. 21 mm.
B.M.C., Galatia, etc., p. 68, No. 181. *Rep. III*, No. 187.

BITHYNIA

NICOMEDIA

Maximinus, 235-38.

533. ΓΙΟΥΟΥΗΜΑΞ ΙΜΕΙΝΟCΑΥΤΟ (ΤΟ?) Bust r., laur., draped. *Rev.*
 ΝΙΚΟΜΙΔΕΩΝΔ ΙCΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ Hygeia, standing, r., feeding ser-
 pent from patera held in l. hand.

PONTUS

AMASIA

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

- 534-536. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Tyche standing, l. 32 mm.
Wad. M.G., p. 40, No. 43.
 537. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Pallas, half left. 32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 41, No. 46.
 538, 539. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Flaming altar. 31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 42, No. 54. *Rep. III*, No. 189.
 540, 541. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Altar, on which, eagle. 32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 42, No. 55.

Caracalla, 212-17.

- 542-546. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Tyche standing, l. 28 mm.
Op. cit., p. 44, No. 65. *Rep. III*, No. 197.
 547. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Serapis seated, l. 30 mm.
Cf. op. cit., p. 44, No. 69.
 548-550. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Caracalla and Geta standing. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 46, No. 77. *Rep. III*, No. 196.
 551, 552. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Caracalla and Geta standing. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 46, No. 77.
 553. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Altar, on which, eagle. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 46, No. 81.
 554. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Altar on which, quadriga. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 46, No. 84.

- 555-586. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Flaming altar. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 46, Nos. 79, 86. *Rep. III*, Nos. 190-195.
 587-589. Bust, r., rad. *Rev.* Altar, on which, eagle. 31-32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 47, No. 87.
 590, 591. Type uncertain.

NEO CAESAREA

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

- 592, 593. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple. 32 mm.
Op. cit., p. 120, No. 13. *Rep. III*, No. 198.
 594-597. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple with door and walls indicated.
 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 121, No. 16a. *Rep. III*, Nos. 199, 200.

Julia Domna, 193-217.

598. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple, within which, figure. 31 mm.
Op. cit., p. 121, No. 19.

Caracalla, 212-17.

599. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple, within which, figure. 30 mm.
Op. cit., p. 122, No. 22.
 600-610. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple.
Op. cit., p. 122.

SEBASTOPOLIS-HERACLEOPOLIS

Geta, 212.

611. Bust, r., bare. *Rev.* Statue of Heracles under arcade. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 144, Nos. 16, 17.

ZELA

Julia Domna, 193-217.

612. Bust, r., *Rev.* Temple. 27 mm.
Op. cit., p. 160, No. 6.

Caracalla, 212-17.

- 613, 614. Bust, r. *Rev.* Tetrastyle temple. 30 mm.
 Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 161, Nos. 12, 13.

PELOPONNESUS

CYPARISSIA

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

615. Head, r., laur. *Rev.* Dionysus, l. 22 mm.
B.M.C., Peloponnesus, p. 115, No. 1.

GYTHEIUM

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

616. Head, r. *Rev.* Heracles, l. 23 mm.
Op. cit., p. 133, No. 2.

MOTHONE

Geta, 212.

617. Bust, r. *Rev.* Type obliterated, ΜΟΘΩΝ. 22 mm.
Cf. op. cit., pp. 117 f.

THURIA

Geta, 212.

618. Bust, r. *Rev.* Pallas, l. 22 mm.
Op. cit., p. 120, No. 8.

UNCERTAIN MINT

Geta, 212.

619. Bust, r., bare, *Rev.* Figure, l. 23 mm.

ROME

Vespasian, 69-79.

620. Head, r. *Rev.* IMP XIX Sow, l., with three young. Denarius.
R.I.C., II, 27, No. 109.

Trajan, 98-117.

621. Bust, r. *Rev.* VIA TRAIANA Woman reclining, l. Sestertius.
Op. cit., II, 289, No. 637.

Antoninus Pius, 138-61.

622. Head, r. *Rev.* COS IIII Annona standing, l. Denarius.
Op. cit., III, 51, No. 204.

Marcus Aurelius, 169-80.

623. Head, r. *Rev.* IMP VI COS III Victory walking, r. Denarius.
Op. cit., III, 234, No. 273.

Lucius Verus, 161-69.

624. Head, r. *Rev.* PROV DEOR TRP III COS II Providentia, l. Denarius.
Op. cit., III, 253, No. 483.

Septimius Severus, 193-211.

625. Head, r. *Rev.* PM TRP XVIII COSIII PP. Jupiter with two infants.
 Denarius.
 Cohen, IV, 57, No. 539.

Julia Domna, 193-217.

626. Bust, r. *Rev.* VENVS FELIX. Venus, half left. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 122, No. 198.

Caracalla, 212-17.

627. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* MARTI PROPVGANATORI (*sic*). Mars fighting,
 l. Denarius.
 Cf. *op. cit.*, IV, 160, No. 15.
628. Head, r., laur. *Rev.* PROPECTIO AVG. Caracalla, r. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 196, No. 508.
629. Bust, r., bare. *Rev.* SEVERI AVG PII FIL. Implements of sacrifice.
 Quinarius.
 Cf. *op. cit.*, IV, 204, No. 587.

Elagabalus, 218-22.

630. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* CONSVL II PP. Aequitas, l. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 326, No. 22.

Severus Alexander, 222-35.

631. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* PM TRP II COS PP. Peace, l. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 425, No. 235.
632. Bust, r., laur. *Rev.* VICTORIA AVG. Victory running r. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 458, No. 560.

Julia Mamaea, 222-35.

633. Bust, r. *Rev.* FECVND AVG. Fecunditas, l. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 490, No. 5.
634. Bust, r. *Rev.* IVNO. Juno seated, l. Denarius.
Op. cit., IV, 493, No. 31.

SASSANIANS

Sapor I, 240-71.

635. Bust, r. *Rev.* Fire altar with two priests. 18 mm.
Paruck, p. 321, No. 93.

RECAPITULATION BY ROMAN EMPERORS

Augustus, Antioch 2	2
Claudius, Antioch 11	11
Nero, Antioch 1	1
Vespasian, Antioch 2, Rome 1	3
Domitian, Antioch 3	3
Nerva, Antioch 2	2
Trajan, Antioch 2, Rome 1	3
Antoninus Pius, Antioch 1, Laodicea-ad-Mare 1, Rome 1	3
Marcus Aurelius, Caesarea 1, Rome 1	2
Lucius Verus, Hieropolis 1, Rome 1	2
Commodus, Hieropolis 1	1
Septimius Severus, Edessa 2, Antioch 2, Amasia 8, Neo Caesarea 6, Cyparissia 1, Gytheium 1	20
Julia Domna, Neo Caesarea 1, Zela 1, Rome 1	3
Caracalla, Carrhae 9, Hieropolis 1, Tyana 1, Amasia 50, Neo Caesarea 12, Zela 2, Rome 3	78
Geta, Antioch 1, Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis 1, Mothone 1, Thuria 1, Uncertain Mint, Peloponnesus 1	5
Macrinus, Tarsus 2	2
Diadumenianus, Antioch 2	2
Elagabalus, Edessa 10, Antioch 56, Rome 1	67
Severus Alexander, Edessa 16, Nesibi 47, Rhesaena 1, Antioch 16, Rome 2	82
Julia Mamaea, Edessa 6, Nesibi 3, Antioch 4, Rome 2	15
Maximinus, Nicomedia 1	1
Gordian III, Carrhae 49, Edessa 65, Nesibi 1, Singara 26, Antioch 36	177
Philip, Nesibi 2, Antioch 47	49
Otacilia, Nesibi 1, Antioch 3	4
Philip, Junior, Nesibi 3, Antioch 27, Hieropolis 1, Zeugma 1	32
Trajan Decius, Rhesaena 2, Antioch 4	6
Herennius Etruscus, Antioch 1	1
Trebonianus Gallus, Antioch 11, Damascus 1	12
Valerian, Antioch 3	3
Gallienus, Antioch 1	1

Totals of All Seasons, Including the Hoards.

Augustus	2	Geta	14
Claudius	15	Plautilla	2
Nero	7	Macrinus	17
Galba	3	Diadumenianus	6
Vitellius	3	Elagabalus	121
Vespasian	31	Julia Soemias	1
Titus	4	Julia Maesia	1
Domitian	13	Severus Alexander	109
Nerva	4	Julia Mamaea	18
Trajan	58	Maximinus	1
Hadrian	38	Gordian III	366
Lucius Aelius	1	Tranquillina	3
Sabina	6	Philip, Senior	235
Antoninus Pius	36	Otacilia	14
Faustina, Senior	20	Philip, Junior	114
Marcus Aurelius	20	Trajan Decius	150
Faustina, Junior	15	Herennia Etruscilla	10
Lucius Verus	4	Herennius Etruscus	42
Lucilla	3	Hostilian	2
Commodus	16	Trebonianus Gallus	185
Crispina	1	Volusian	12
Septimius Severus	126	Valerian	84
Julia Domna	26	Gallienus	32
Caracalla	153		

RECAPITULATION BY MINTS

Antioch (Seleucid 23, Roman 248)	271	Aradus	1
Edessa	99	Beroea	1
Carrhae	58	Caesarea	1
Amasia	58	Cyparissia	1
Nesibi	57	Damascus	1
Singara	26	Gytheium	1
Neo Caesarea	19	Laodicea-ad-Mare	1
Rome	15	Mothone	1
Hieropolis	4	Nicomedia	1
Rhesaena	3	Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis	1
Zela	3	Thuria	1
Palestine	2	Tyana	1
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	2	Zeugma	1
Tarsus	2	Uncertain (Parthian 1, Roman 1, Sassanian 1)	3

Totals of All Seasons, Including the Hoards.

Antioch	1,318	Tarsus	3
Rome	354	Zela	3
Edessa	133	Zeugma	2
Carrhae	82	Apamea	1
Nesibi	70	Cyparissia	1
Amasia	67	Damascus	1
Singara	32	Gytheium	1
Neo Caesarea	22	Lugdunum	1
Hieropolis	7	Mantineia	1
Aradus	6	Mothone	1
Rhesaena	6	Nicomedia	1
Tyre	6	Orchomenos	1
Caesarea	4	Pylos	1
Palestine	4	Sebastopolis-Heracleopolis	1
Seleucia-on-the-Tigris	4	Seleucia Pieria	1
Beroea	3	Thuria	1
Emisa	3	Tyana	1
Laodicea-ad-Mare	3	Uncertain (Parthian 3, Roman	
Mopsus	3	7, Sassanian 2)	12
Palmyra	3		

VI

NEW MATERIAL FOR THE HISTORY OF DURA

BY A. R. BELLINGER

Two slight indications of the pre-Hellenic life of Dura are found in the Babylonian cylinders published among the beads (above, p. 258); one of the sixth or fifth centuries B.C., the other of much greater antiquity. Not too much reliance can be placed on their discovery since, of course, such small objects might have found their way there at any time. Still, supporting, as they do, the inherent probability of a settlement on the site before Seleucid times, they hold out the hope of further and more definite finds from that period.

A final study of the so-called Redoubt will doubtless give us more information about the Seleucid city, to our knowledge of which this campaign has contributed little except a few coins—one of them of Seleucus I. Nor can we be said to have gained much light on Parthian and Palmyrene influences. But in the Roman period one new achievement has been made of the first importance: the reconstruction of the inscription which stood on the triumphal arch outside the city walls proves that the expedition of Trajan in 115 or 116 left Dura in the hands of the Romans, if it had not found her so. This demands an important modification of our views of the Roman occupation. Hitherto 165 has been taken as a fixed point, the victory of Lucius Verus being assumed as the first entry of Roman troops into the city. This theory must now be abandoned, and certain questions must ultimately be discussed anew in the light of this fresh evidence. For example, the Fresco of the Tribune and such inscriptions as those of Gemellus, and the *dipinti* in the temple of Atargatis may now be redated. The natural assumption is that the triumphal arch was erected to commemorate the capture of the town, but that cannot be held certain, and the evidence of contact with Antioch proved by the coins earlier than Trajan makes us hesitate to accept the new date as a definite *terminus*.

Nor need we abandon the victory of Verus, for Parchment X gives us proof that a half-dozen years after the erection of the triumphal arch Dura was in Parthian hands. This is undoubtedly the result of that conservative policy of Hadrian which led him to relinquish so many of the ambitious plans of his predecessor. Perhaps another parchment

found in 1931-32 and also apparently dated by the regnal year of the Parthian King will give us more information about this interval, but, in any event, we are justified in assuming an interval when the success of Trajan was temporarily abandoned until the expedition of Lucius Verus drove back the Parthians once more.

The period of the city's decline is brilliantly illuminated by the great number of graffiti texts found in the House of Nebuchelus. We get few records of events, it is true, but we do get a reflection of the activities of a citizen, who, by virtue of the position of his dwelling, ought to have been prosperous if anyone was. But the record shows us a sorry time of uncertainty and pressure from the barbarian foe and consequent falling off of trade. There is a profusion of coins found struck in the last quarter century of the town's existence, but this, I believe, is because the final assault took the citizens so by surprise that they had no time to escape with their possessions, and of course the coins then in circulation would be chiefly those of the last twenty-five years.

The Sassanian paintings, important as they are for the history of art, are tantalizingly inconclusive as regards the capture of Dura, and its subsequent fate. They do support the already assured conclusion that it was the Sassanians who were the captors, but though they suggest much, they prove little beyond that point. Did the conquerors leave a garrison at Dura? Abstract probability and the very existence of the fresco are in favor of it; the gold and silver jewels and the quantity of coins lying about are against it. We can only say at present that there is, as yet, no monument dated later than 256; beyond that point everything belongs to the realm of conjecture.

Finally, the graffiti have given further evidence to support Professor Torrey's brilliant conjecture as to a Christian community at Dura (*Rep. III*, pp. 68 ff.), which is no longer to be considered as a mere conjecture since the discovery of those Christian paintings which are the most spectacular achievement of the campaign of 1931-32.

INDEX OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

A. Names of Men and Women.

- 'Αβδοχῆλος (s. of Nebuchelus), No. 191,
 1. 1
 'Αβιβέθ, No. 314
 'Αβιῆλος, No. 319
 'Αβιμμῆλος(?), No. 244
 'Αβουαλῆθ, No. 251
 'Αγριππᾶς, Nos. 249, 1. 2(?); 256, 1. 1
 'Αδαγαβάρος (f. of Bimel), No. 241, 1. 3
 'Αδαῖος, No. 341, 1. 8
 'Αδδαῖος, No. 371
 'Αειᾶς, No. 358, 1. 10
 'Αζανίθ, No. 271, 1. 1
 'Αθηνᾶς, No. 352
 *Αθηνις, No. 279
 Αἰλαμος, No. 288, 1. 2
 Αἰράνης, Nos. 190, 1. 1; 358, 1. 9
 'Αλέξανδρος (s. of Apolloni(c)us), Nos.
 191, 1. 2; 196; 230, 1. 4; 232, 1. 3
 'Αλέξανδρος, No. 298, 11. 1, 2
 'Αλέξας (s. of Papias), No. 276
 'Αμλίχος, No. 341, 1. 6
 'Ανανίς, No. 245, 11. 4, 7
 *Αννα, No. 284
 'Αντίγονος (s. of Mario), No. 169, 1. 6
 'Αντίοχος, No. 179
 'Αντωνίνος (Aurelius), No. 195, (Arria-
 nus), No. 203
 'Απολλόνικος (f. of Alexander), Nos.
 196; 232, 1. 4; 233, A, 1. 5
 'Απολλώνιος (f. of Alexander), No. 191,
 1. 2; (f. and s. of an Aristonus), No.
 175; (f. of Crateas), No. 176, 1. 2.
 'Απολλώνιος, No. 332
 'Αρεχθεύς(?), No. 198
 'Αρίστονος (f. and s. of an Apollonius),
 No. 175
 'Αρόμανδρος(?), No. 191, 1. 3
 'Αρρίανος (Antoninus), No. 203
 'Αρτεμίδωρος Μικκάλου τοῦ 'Αρτεμιδώρου,
 No. 172
 'Αρχίας, No. 347
 Αὐρήλιος (Antoninus), No. 195; (Diphi-
 lianus), No. 168, 1. 4; (Nebuchelus),
 No. 233, A, 11. 3, 6, 7
 Αὐσαδαῖος(?) (s. of Nabu), No. 335
 Αὐσᾶς, No. 357, 1. 3
 'Αχεᾶς(?), No. 370
 Βάβα, Nos. 241, 1. 2; 260, 1. 4; 293
 Βαβίλης, No. 211
 Βαθεισθάρρα, No. 321
 Βαθῆς (s. of Chilinaeus), Nos. 241, 1. 4;
 260, 1. 5
 Βαλαντίνος, No. 245, 11. 1, 2. Βαλάντιος,
 No. 264, 1. 1
 Βαρνάβας (s. of Simaeus), No. 241, 1. 5
 Βαρναῖος, Nos. 173; 288, 1. 3
 Βατιζ[, No. 357, 1. 6
 Βειραῖος, No. 174
 ΒηλακαΣΣΙΣ (s. of Idagaeus?), No.
 338
 Βιμήλ (s. of Adagabarus), Nos. 241, 1.
 3; 260, 1. 4
 Βορίας(?), No. 283
 Γαῖος, No. 233, B, 1. 4
 Γέρμανος, Nos. 264, 1. 3; 288, 1. 1
 Γινναῖος, No. 369
 Γοβρίδης, No. 341, 1. 5
 Δαδάδος(?), No. 324
 Δαδδᾶς, No. 358, 1. 7
 Δαλα[ιλ?, No. 357, 1. 2
 Δημοσθένης, No. 184 (2)
 Διοσκορίδης (s. of Crateas), No. 176, 1. 1
 Διφιλιανός (Aurelius), No. 168, 1. 5
 'Ελλάνικος(?), No. 341, 1. 15
 'Ερμῆς, No. 253, 1. 1
 Ζαβαδάτης, No. 177

- Ζαββαῖος (?), No. 230, l. 1
 Ζαβδαῖος (s. of Malicus), No. 351
 Ζαβδάς (f. of Zoilus), Nos. 343, l. 1; 344
 Ζεβινμάος, No. 178, B
 Ζεβυδάς, No. 358, l. 5
 Ζηνόδοτος, No. 355
 Ζώιλος (s. of Zabdas), Nos. 343, l. 1; 344
 Ἡλιόδωρος (f. of Manaeus), No. 356
 Ἡρακλᾶς, No. 211
 Θουμῦς, No. 358, l. 4
 Ἰακόβος, No. 357, l. 1
 Ἰαραῖος, No. 358, l. 6
 Ἰδαγαῖος (f. of Belacassis), No. 338
 Ἰλμᾶς (?), No. 336
 Καννέας, No. 259, l. 1
 Κλαύδιος (Solemnus Pacatianus), No. 169
 Κόνων, No. 341, l. 3
 Κρατέας (s. of Apollonius, f. of Dioscorides), No. 176, l. 2
 Λυσίας, No. 339, ll. 2, 3, 4
 Λυσίας (s. of Rhumaeus), No. 353
 Μαβουγαῦ, No. 358, l. 3
 Μαθανάθ, No. 192
 Μαλῆς, No. 190, l. 1
 Μαλίκος (f. of Zabdaeus), No. 351
 Μάλχος, Nos. 245, ll. 4, 7; 248, l. 2; 358, l. 1
 Μαναῖος (s. of Heliodorus), No. 356
 Μάννος, No. 213, l. 3
 Μαραβήλος, Nos. 240, l. 2; 245, l. 3; 263; 270, l. 3. Μαριβήλος, Nos. 255, l. 1; 260, l. 5
 Μαρίων (f. of Antigonos), No. 169, l. 7
 Μίκαλος (f. and s. of Artemidoros), No. 172
 Μλίχος, Nos. 328, 329
 Ναβόννιος, No. 326
 Νάβου (f. of Ausadaeus), No. 335; Νάβους, No. 178, A
 Ναυάρκος (?), No. 327
 Νεβουχῆλος, Nos. 227, I, l. 1; 230, l. 3; 241, l. 1; 260, l. 1. Ναβουχῆλος, Nos. 191, l. 1; 233, A, l. 1; 264, l. 2
 Νηβεδι[, No. 357, l. 5
 Νικοφών, No. 229
 Ὀβοδαδάδος, No. 176, l. 3
 Ὀκβασιῆς, No. 245, l. 7
 Ὀλυμπος, No. 318
 Πακατιανός (Claudius Solemnus), No. 169
 Παπίας (f. of Alexas), No. 276
 Παπίας, No. 341, l. 7
 Παῦλος, No. 367, l. 1
 Πίος, No. 233, B, l. 2
 Παγαθαδάδος, No. 299
 Ρουμαῖος (f. of Lysias), No. 353
 Ρουμάς, No. 282
 Σαδαμσᾶς (?), No. 215, l. 1
 Σαδοκᾶς (?), No. 341, l. 1
 Σαλαβῦλ, No. 358, l. 8
 Σαλμάνης, Nos. 250, l. 1; 259, l. 2; 341, l. 4
 Σαυλυφᾶς, No. 358, l. 2
 Σεβήρος (?), No. 233, B, l. 4
 Σέλευκος, Nos. 286, 334
 Σεμήσης, No. 341, l. 2
 Σιμαῖος (f. of Barnabas), No. 241, l. 5
 Σολέμνιος (Claudius S. Pacatianus), No. 169
 Σουδαῖος (?), No. 357, l. 4
 Ταλλάθος (?), No. 298, l. 3
 Φιλίνος (Flavius Fil.), No. 315, ll. 1, 2
 Φλασούιος (Fl. Filinus), No. 315, l. 2
 Φραάτης, Nos. 240, ll. 3, 6; 260, l. 2; 270, l. 2
 Χιλινάιος (f. of Bathes), No. 241, l. 4

B. Names of Divinities.

Ἀδάδος(?), No. 306
Διόνυσος, No. 345

Ζεὺς Βέτυλος, No. 168, l. 2
Τύχη, No. 180

C. Names of Emperors.

Ἀντωνίνος Σεβαστός, No. 171
Imperator Caesar Divi Nervae Filius
Nerva Traianus Optimus Augustus
Germanicus Dacicus Pontifex Maxi-

mus Tribuniciae Potestatis XX Im-
perator IX Consul VI Pater Patriae,
No. 167

D. Geographical Terms.

Ἀθηναῖοι(?), No. 184
Ἀπάδανα, Nos. 227, l. 1; 240, l. 7.
Ἀφάδανα, No. 221, l. 1
Βαναβήλα, No. 245, l. 8
Cyrenaica (Legio Tertia Cyr.), No. 294
Δούρα, Nos. 181; 245, l. 5; 343, l. 2
ΚΑΧΑΝΔΕΣ(?), No. 228

Μακεδών, Nos. 232, l. 3; 313(?)
Ὀρόντης (τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντῃ), No.
168, l. 4
Παλμυρηνός, No. 190, l. 2
Πέρσης, No. 233, B, l. 10
Σούρα, No. 200, l. 1

E. Calendar.

Αὔθενός, No. 236, l. 1; Αὔδινός, No.
232, l. 1; Αὔδυνός, No. 235, l. 1; 238,
l. 1

Δαΐσιος, No. 220, l. 1
Δίος, No. 361
Ξανδικός, Nos. 182; 233, B, ll. 7, 9

F. Dated Texts.

No. 299. 11/10 B.C.
No. 232. December 11, A.D. 218

No. 233. About April 20, A.D. 239

G. Administrative Titles and Terms.

ἀρχιερεύς, No. 169, l. 8
βουλευτής, No. 343, l. 1
βουλή(?), No. 184
ἐπίσκοπος, No. 367, l. 2
ιεράρχης (ἡερ.)(?), No. 329
ἵππεύς, No. 190, l. 1

Legio, No. 167; (Quarta Scythica An-
toniniana), No. 168, l. 6; (Tertia Cy-
renaica), No. 294
σιτώνης, No. 253, l. 2
στρατιώτης, No. 168, l. 5
ὑπατικός, No. 169, l. 2
ὑπατος, Nos. 233, B, ll. 1, 3, 4; 246 (2)

H. Planets and Constellations.

Αἰγόκερως, Nos. 232, 235-238
Ἄρης, Nos. 232, 235-238
Ἀφροδίτη, Nos. 232, 235-238
Δίδυμοι, Nos. 232, 235-238
Ἑρμῆς, Nos. 232, 235-238

Ζεὺς, Nos. 232, 235-238
Ζυγός, Nos. 232, 235-238
Ἥλιος, Nos. 232, 235-238
Ἰχθύδιον, Nos. 232, l. 4; 232; 235-238
Καρκίνος, Nos. 232, 235-238

Κριός, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Κρόνος, Nos. 232, l. 2; 232; 235-238
 Λέων, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Παρθένος, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Σελήνη, Nos. 220, ll. 2, 3; 232, l. 2; 236,

l. 2; indicated by crescent, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Σκορπίος, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Ταῦρος, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Τοξότης, Nos. 232, 235-238
 Ὑδροχοῦς, Nos. 232, l. 4; 232; 235-238

I. *Weights, Measures, and Monetary Units.*

ἀρτάβη, No. 258, l. 2
 γόμος, No. 209, l. 1
 δάνα, No. 245, ll. 5, 6, 8, 8
 δηνάριον (✕), Nos. 199; 200, ll. 1-4;
 202, ll. 1, 2; 204, ll. 1-3; 205; 207, l.
 2; 210, ll. 1-3; 211; 213, ll. 1-6; 228,
 l. 2; 240, ll. 2-7; 241, ll. 1, 3-5; 245,
 ll. 1-3; 248, l. 2; 251; 253, ll. 1, 2;
 256, l. 2; 259, l. 2; 260, ll. 1-5; 263;

264, ll. 2-8; 270, ll. 2, 3; 273, ll. 2, 3;
 321
 λίτρα, Nos. 227, III, l. 1; 242
 μνᾶ, Nos. 257, I, ll. 1-5, II, ll. 2-4; 263
 πόκος, Nos. 247, ll. 1-14; 252, l. 2; 254,
 ll. 2-4; 255, ll. 1, 2; 271, l. 2; 272, ll.
 1, 2
 στατήρ, No. 266, ll. 1, 2
 ὕδρια, No. 256, l. 3

J. *Greek Words.*

ἄγω, Nos. 245, l. 4; 346
 ἄλλα (adv.), Nos. 227, I, l. 11; 240, ll.
 4, 5, 6; 254, l. 4; 255, l. 2; 260, l. 3
 ἄλλος, No. 300, ll. 26, 28
 ἄμμα, Nos. 266, l. 1; 273, l. 2
 ἀναβόλαιον, No. 227, I, ll. 4, 13
 ἀνατίθημι, No. 168, l. 8
 ἀνίκλιον, No. 227, I, ll. 2, 6
 ἀπό, Nos. 245, ll. 1, 2, 3; 258, l. 1; 264,
 l. 1; 274 (2)
 ἀποψηφίζω, No. 252, l. 1
 ἀριθμός, No. 233, B, l. 6
 ἄρτος, No. 200, l. 1
 ἀρχή, Nos. 232, 237
 ἀσκός, No. 264, l. 6
 αὐτός, Nos. 213, l. 1; 227, II, l. 6; 256,
 l. 2; 280, l. 3
 ἀφίημι, No. 245, l. 2
 ἄχρι, No. 252, l. 1
 ἄχυρον, No. 201

γάλα, No. 295, l. 9
 γῆ, No. 337, l. 2
 γεννάω, Nos. 232, l. 3; 236, l. 3; 238,
 l. 2
 γλυκάδιον, No. 295, l. 6
 γράφω, Nos. 193, 220, l. 2
 γυνή, No. 270, l. 3

δαδίων, Nos. 224; 275, l. 1 (?)
 δακτυλίδιον, No. 273, l. 3
 δαπάνη (?), No. 280, l. 1
 δελματική (or δελματικά), Nos. 219, l. 2;
 221, l. 2; 222, ll. 3, 4; 227, I, l. 14,
 II, l. 8; 300, l. 6
 δελματικόν (κολόβιον δελ.), Nos. 227, II,
 l. 2; 300, l. 20
 διά, Nos. 241, ll. 3, 4, 5; 260, ll. 4, 5;
 352
 δίδωμι, Nos. 213, l. 3; 245, l. 9; 248, l. 1;
 249, ll. 1, 3; 256, ll. 1, 2; 259, l. 1;
 260, l. 2; 286

βαλανάριον, Nos. 227, I, ll. 12, 17; 243,
 l. 2
 βαλανεῖον, No. 180
 βόειος, No. 300, l. 25
 βύρρος, No. 300, l. 15
 βωμός, No. 170

ἑάν, No. 359, l. 1
 ἐγώ, Nos. 227, I, l. 1; 241, l. 1; 245, ll.
 4, 7, 9; 260, l. 1; 273, l. 1; μου, No.
 245, l. 9; μοι, Nos. 245, ll. 6, 8; 256,
 l. 3; 258, l. 1

- εἰς, Nos. 200, l. 1; 207, l. 1; 213, ll. 2, 4, 5, 6; 227, I, l. 1; 228; 229; 240, l. 7; 245, ll. 5, 8; 249, l. 4; 264, ll. 4, 6, 7, 8
 εἰς, Nos. 291, 292
 εἰσέρχομαι, Nos. 228, 311
 εἰσφέρω, Nos. 241, l. 1; 260, l. 1
 ἐκ, No. 250, l. 1
 ἐκφέρω, No. 359, l. 1
 ἔλαιον, Nos. 202, l. 2; 204, l. 2; 213, l. 5
 ἐν, Nos. 232, l. 4; 337, l. 1
 ἐνεύδω, No. 322
 ἐξοδιάζω (ἐξεδιώσθη, properly from ἐκδιώθω), No. 240, l. 1
 ἐπί (prep.), Nos. 233, B, ll. 1, 3, 4, 10; 246 (2); (adv.), Nos. 197; 227, I, l. 1; 240, l. 1; 241, ll. 1, 2; 249, l. 1; 256, l. 1; 260, ll. 1, 4; 264, l. 1; 268; 271, l. 1
 ἐπικάρσιον, Nos. 219, l. 6; 227, I, l. 7
 ἐρίδιον, Nos. 252, l. 2; 272, l. 1
 ἐρινός, No. 219, ll. 2, 3, 4
 ἔτος, Nos. 232, l. 1; 233, B, ll. 6, 8; 235, l. 1; 236, l. 1; 239 (2); 334(?)
 εὐνουχος(?), No. 360
 εὐχομαι, No. 168, l. 7
 ἔχω, Nos. 205; 227, II, l. 1; 245, ll. 4, 6, 7; 253, l. 1; 270, l. 1; 271, l. 1; 272, l. 1; 273, l. 1
 ζεῦχος, Nos. 243, l. 1; 257, II, l. 1
 ζῶ (ζήσης), Nos. 314; 315, l. 1; 339, ll. 1, 2, 5
 ζωγραφητός, No. 219, l. 11
 ἡμεῖς, No. 250, l. 1
 ἡμέρα, Nos. 220, l. 3; 232, l. 2; 306
 ἡμερινός, Nos. 232, l. 3; 235, l. 2; 236, l. 2; 238, l. 2
 ἡμέτερος, No. 242
 θεός, Nos. 168, l. 1; 291; 292; 303
 θνήσκω, No. 337, l. 1
 ἰδιόχρους (εἰδ.), No. 227, II, l. 7
 ἵνα (εἶνα), No. 256, l. 2
 ἰχθύδιον, No. 290
 καθαρός, No. 289, l. 3
 καλίγιον, Nos. 243, l. 1; 257, II, l. 1
 κατά, Nos. 220, l. 2; 232, l. 2; 236, l. 2
 καταβαίνω, No. 233, B, l. 9
 κατωτέρα (γῆ), No. 258, l. 2
 κενός, No. 266, l. 1 (for καινός ?)
 κεράμειος, Nos. 300, l. 18; 301, l. 1
 κέρμα, No. 252, l. 3
 κιβάρια (κειβ.), No. 289, l. 2
 κοίτη, No. 227, II, l. 5
 κόκκιον, No. 264, l. 5
 κοκομου(?), No. 250, l. 3
 κολίσκιον, No. 289, l. 1
 κολόβιον, Nos. 219, ll. 3, 7; 227, II, ll. 2, 3; 300, ll. 7, 13, 20
 κόπρος, No. 323
 κόρδαμον (for καρδ.), Nos. 257, I, l. 1; 281(?)
 κόστον, No. 257, I, l. 2
 κρέας, Nos. 213, l. 4; 264, ll. 4, 8
 κριθή, Nos. 200, l. 3; 204, l. 3; 209, l. 2; 213, l. 2; 258, l. 2; 264, l. 7
 κωλῇ (κολῇ), No. 295, l. 4
 λαγχάνω, Nos. 197; 245, ll. 6, 8; 250, l. 1; 258, l. 1
 λαμβάνω, Nos. 240, l. 2; 245, ll. 1, 2; 260, l. 5; 263; 264, l. 1
 λαμπρότατος, No. 169, l. 1
 λαυδίκιον (for λωδ. ?), No. 300, l. 16
 λάχανον, No. 295, ll. 2, 7
 λευκός, No. 219, ll. 5, 12
 λινούδιον, No. 300, l. 14
 λινούς, No. 300, l. 27
 λογίζομαι, No. 252, l. 3
 λόγος, No. 264, l. 1
 λωδίκιον, No. 243, l. 3
 μαθκῶνα, Nos. 221, l. 3; 227, III, l. 2
 μακρόχειρον, No. 227, I, l. 8
 μαφάριον (for μαφορ.), Nos. 219, l. 4; 257, II, l. 3
 μέγας, No. 180
 μερίζω, No. 254, ll. 3, 4
 μέρος, No. 245, l. 9
 μετά, No. 245, l. 4

μῆν, Nos. 232, l. 1; 233, B, ll. 6, 8; 236, l. 1; 238, l. 1; 239
 μητήρ, No. 270, l. 2
 μιμνήσκω (μνησθῆ), Nos. 176, ll. 1, 3; 189; 190, l. 1; 191, ll. 1, 2, 3; 192; 193; 196; 220, l. 2; 230, ll. 1(?), 3, 4; 233, A, ll. 1, 4; 314; 315, ll. 1, 2; 317; 326; 332; 335; 343, l. 1; 344; 347; 348; 351; 355; 356; 367, l. 1; 369; 371
 μίσθωσις, No. 258, l. 1
 μονόμαλλος, Nos. 219, l. 10; 300, ll. 8, 11
 μυράφιον, No. 256, l. 3

 νέος, No. 304

 οἶνος, Nos. 200, l. 4; 213, l. 6; 245, l. 5; 280, l. 3; 295, ll. 1, 8
 ὀπότε, No. 228
 ὄς, Nos. 227, II, l. 1; 245, ll. 2, 6, 8
 οὐείλλος (= vilis?), No. 266, l. 1

 παλαιός, No. 245, l. 5
 πάλιν, No. 245, ll. 6, 7
 πάλλιον, Nos. 219, l. 12; 222, l. 2
 πάντα (adv.?), No. 245, l. 9
 παρά, Nos. 253, ll. 1, 2; 271, l. 1; 321
 παραγαύδιον, No. 219, ll. 1, 5
 παρθενικόν, No. 227, I, l. 15
 παρφυροῦς (for πορ.), Nos. 219, ll. 7, 10; 222, l. 3
 πατῆρ, No. 168, l. 1
 πεδικόν (for παιδ.), Nos. 222, l. 1; 227, I, ll. 16, 18
 πέμπω, Nos. 227, I, l. 1; 240, l. 7; 241, l. 2; 260, l. 4
 περί, Nos. 232, l. 2; 236, l. 2
 περίστρωμος, Nos. 219, ll. 9, 11; 227, II, l. 6; 300, l. 22
 πέρνα, No. 287
 περσυνός, No. 222, l. 4
 πιπράσκω, Nos. 254, l. 2; 255, l. 1; 272, l. 2

πίστις, Nos. 270, l. 1; 273, l. 1
 ποιέω, Nos. 170; 220, l. 1
 πορφύρα (also παρ.), Nos. 227, III, l. 1; 242
 πρόσ, No. 168, l. 3
 προσκεφαλάδιον, Nos. 219, l. 14; 227, II, l. 6; 300, ll. 19, 23-26; 301, l. 2
 πρότερος, No. 233, B, l. 5
 πρώτα (adv.), No. 227, II, l. 1
 πρώτος, Nos. 235, l. 2; 238, l. 2

σίτος, No. 200, l. 2
 σκευή, No. 250, ll. 2, 3
 σουδάριον, No. 227, I, ll. 5, 9
 στιχάριον (or στίχα), No. 227, II, l. 7
 σφῆρος, No. 220, l. 1

τετράδεσμα, No. 300, l. 29
 τιμή, Nos. 245, l. 9; 271, l. 2
 τις, No. 359, l. 1
 τολάριον, No. 227, I, l. 10
 τριβακός, No. 300, l. 22
 τύλα (for τύλη), No. 300, l. 28
 τυλάριον, No. 300, l. 27

ὅμεις (or ἡμεῖς), No. 233, B, l. 10

φακῆ, No. 295, l. 3
 φακιάλιον, No. 227, II, l. 4
 φασκία, No. 219, l. 8
 φέρω, Nos. 198(?); 228; 256, l. 3

χλανίδιον, No. 199
 χώρα(?), No. 225

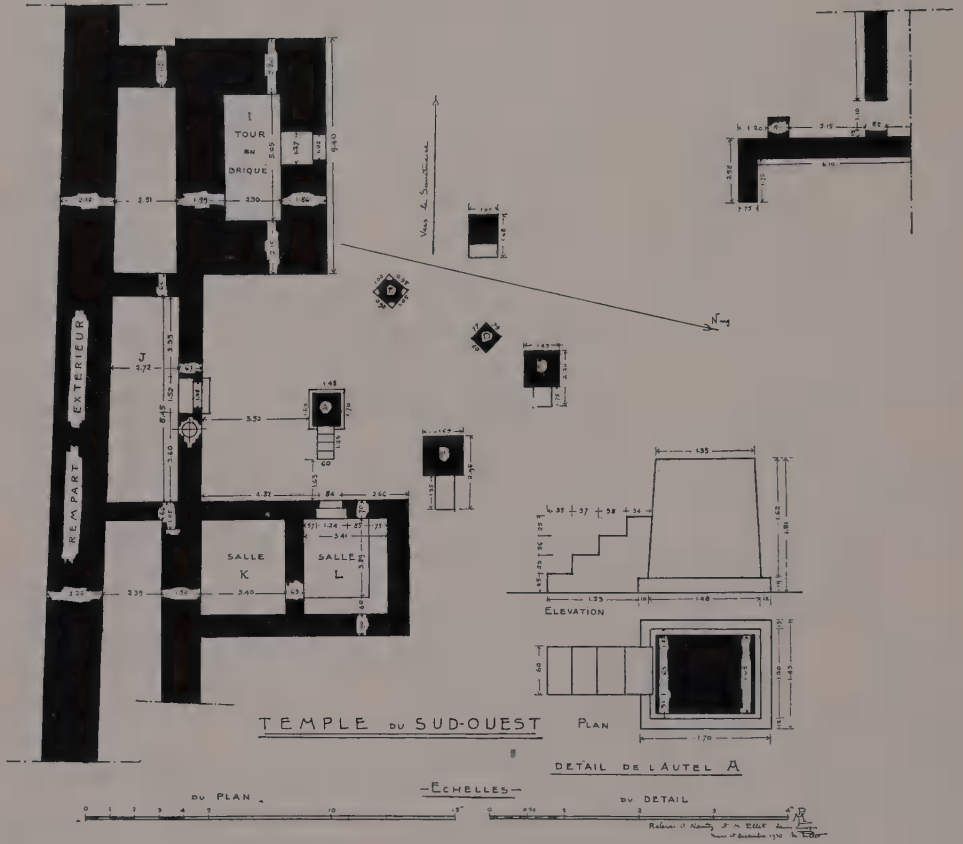
ψέγω, No. 227, I, l. 18
 ψέλλιον, No. 266, l. 2

ὥδε, No. 245, l. 5
 ὥρα, Nos. 232, l. 3; 235, l. 2; 236, l. 2; 238, l. 2
 ὠροσκόπος, No. 232, l. 4

PLATES



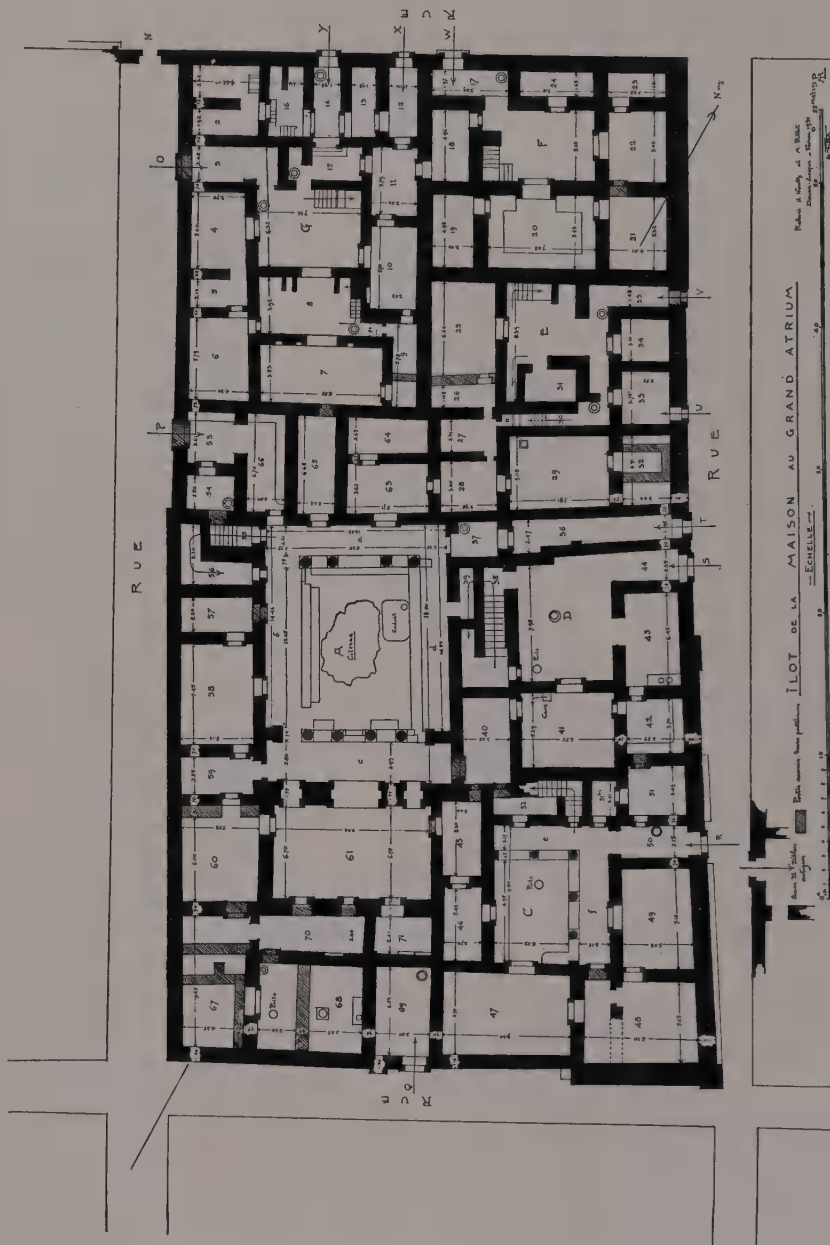
PLAN OF RAMPARTS OF SOUTH ANGLE AND SOUTHWEST TEMPLE
(DRAWN BY M. PILLET)



PLAN OF SOUTHWEST TEMPLE
(DRAWN BY M. PILLET)



PLAN OF PALACE
(DRAWN BY M. PILLET)



V



PLAN OF HOUSES E AND F

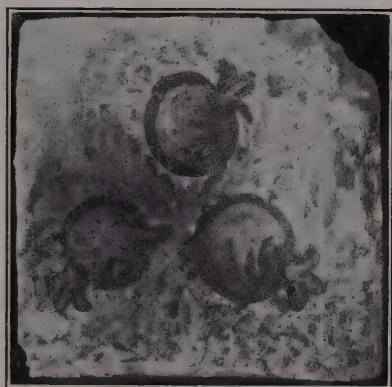
VI



1



2



3



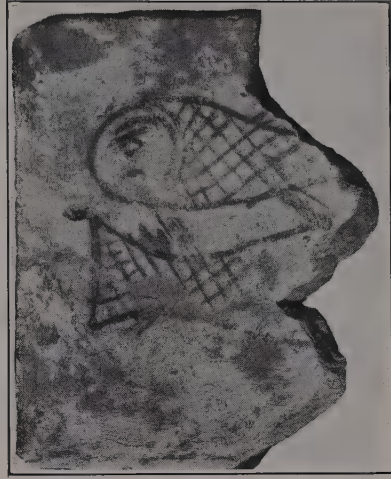
4

1-4. PAINTED PLAQUES FROM THE HOUSE OF THE LARGE ATRIUM

VII



1



2



3



4

1-2. PAINTED PLAQUES FROM THE HOUSE OF THE LARGE ATRIUM.
3. FROM TOWER 15. 4. GLASS



1



2



3

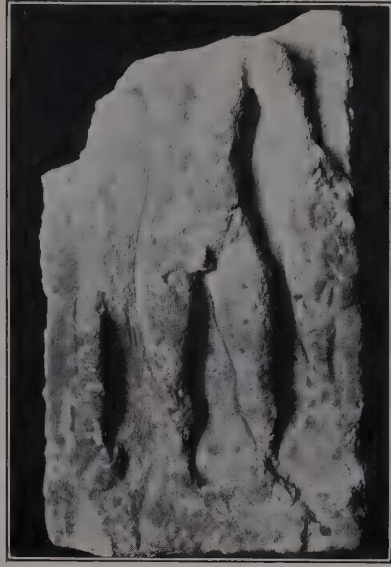


4

1-2. VOUSOIRS FROM PRIESTS' HOUSE. 3. RELIEF OF ATARGATIS.
4. RELIEF OF APHRODITE ANADYOMENE



1



2



3



4

5

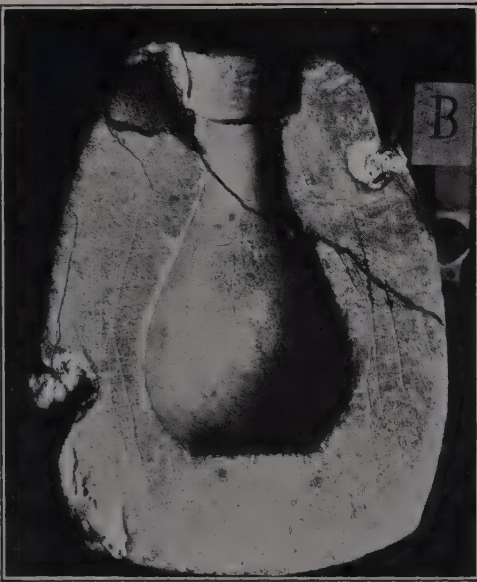
1. STATUE OF HERACLES. 2. RELIEF OF HERACLES. 3. RELIEF OF WOMAN
AND YOUTH. 4. STATUETTE OF APHRODITE. 5. YOUTH CARRYING A LAMB



1



2

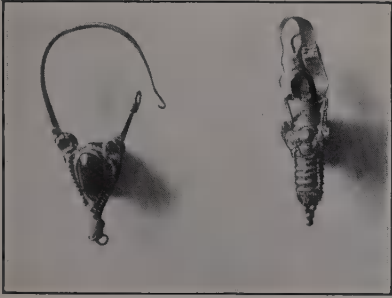


3



4

1 AND 3. OBERSE AND REVERSE OF MOLD. 2 AND 4. OBERSE AND REVERSE OF MOLD

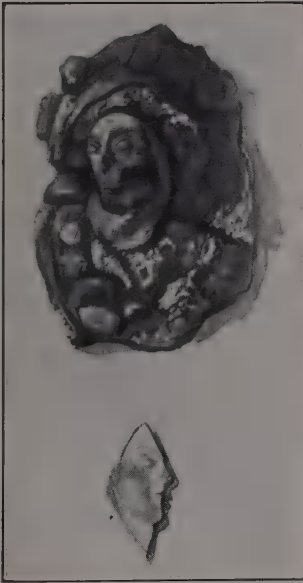


1

2



3



4



5

1-2. EARRINGS. 3. SILVER HANDLE. 4. GLASS CAMEO OF RING. 5. BRONZE BUST

XII

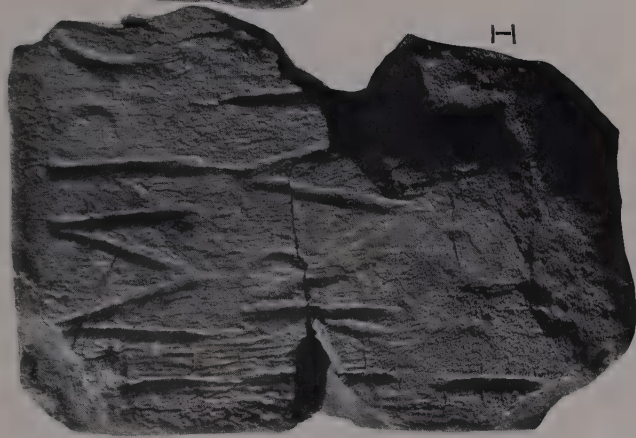


I

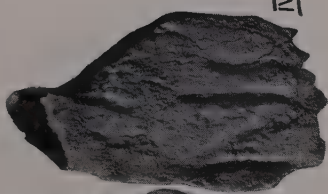
2

I-2. SILVER VASE

XIII



I



IV



XIII



XV



III

2

I

I-2. INSCRIPTION FROM ARCH OF TRAJAN, NO. 167

XIV

VIII

V

IX

X

XII

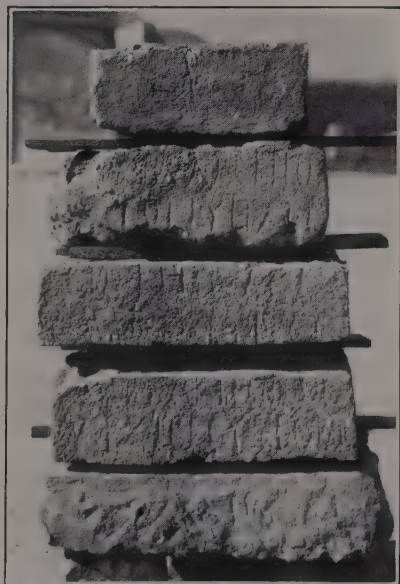
XI

VI

INSCRIPTION FROM ARCH OF TRAJAN, NO. 167

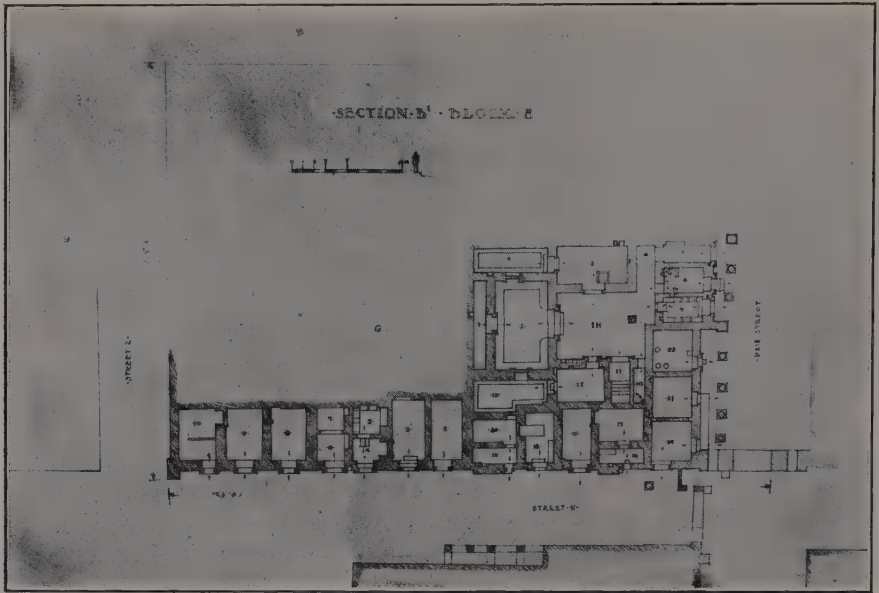


I



2

I. ALTAR, INSCRIPTION NO. 168. 2. INSCRIPTION NO. 169

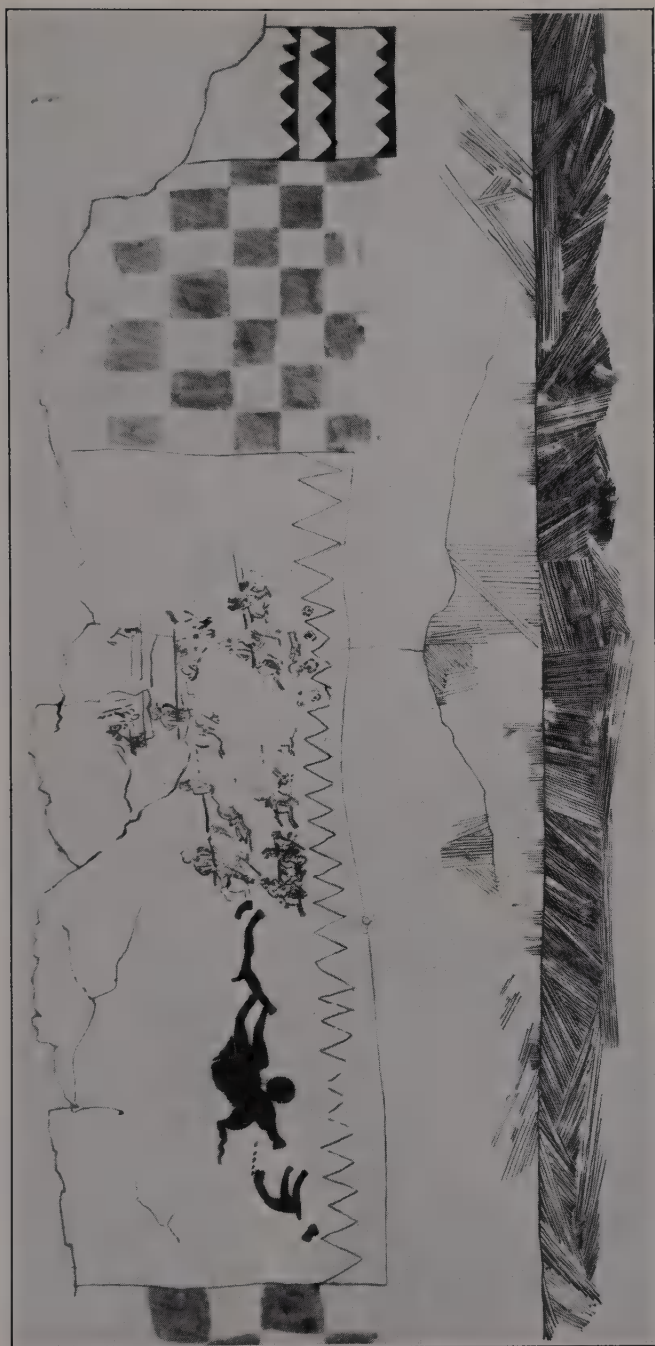


I

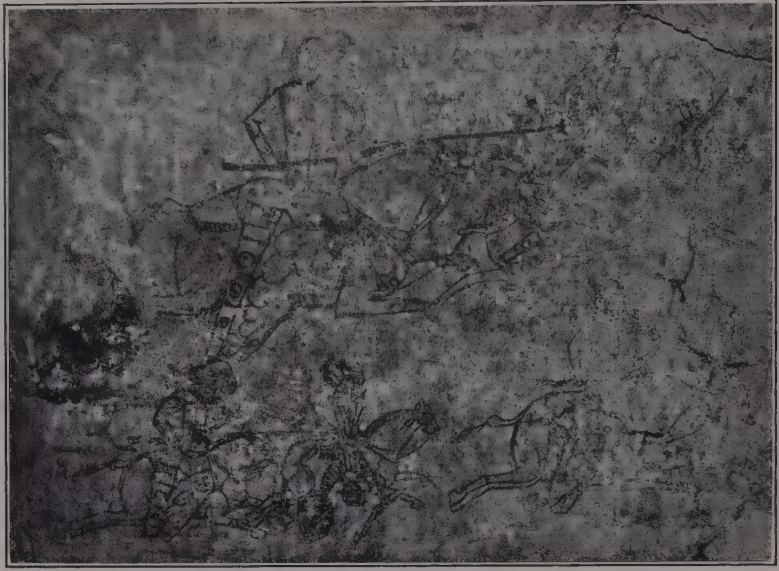


2

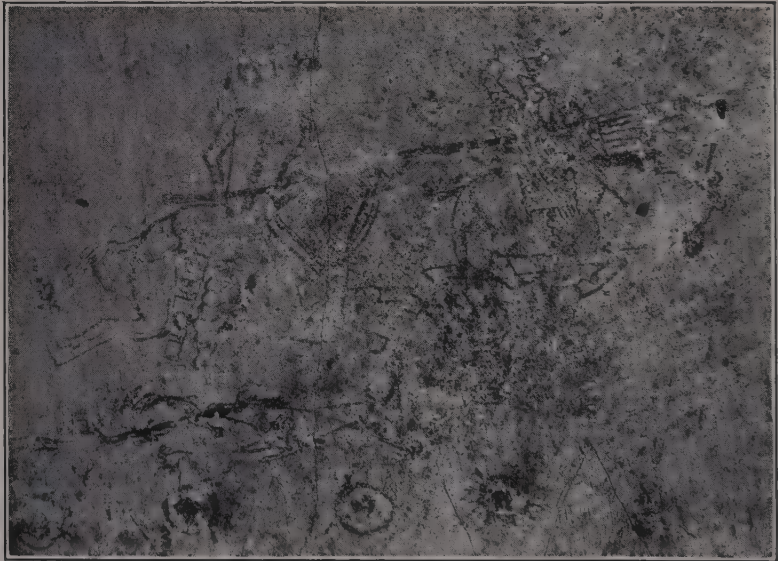
1. PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF THE ARCHIVES
2. INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF THE ARCHIVES



SKETCH OF SASSANIAN FRESCO

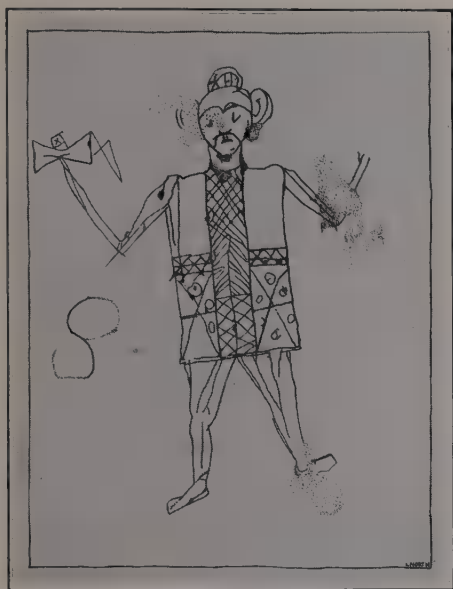


I

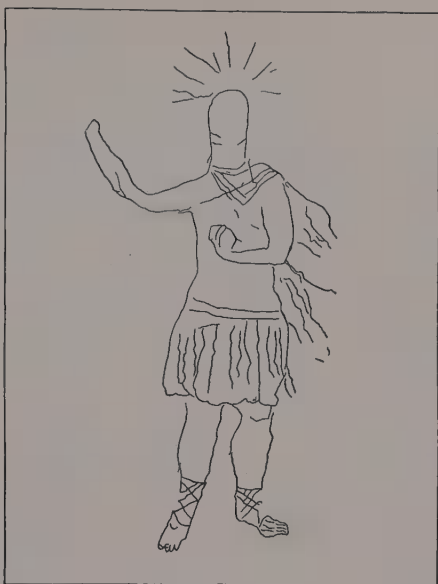


2

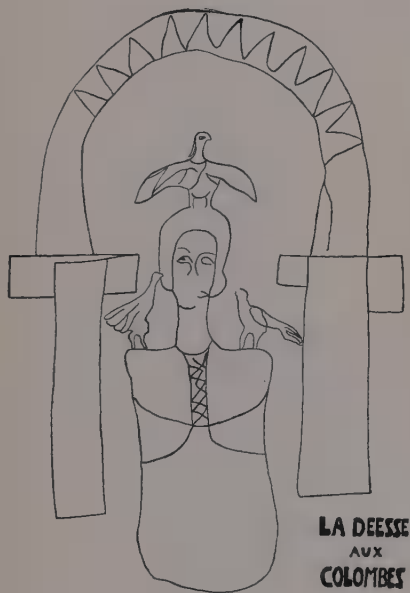
I-2. DETAILS OF SASSANIAN FRESCO



I



2



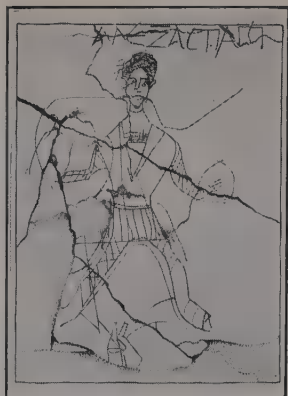
3



5

4

I-4. GRAFFITI. I. HADAD. 2. IARHIBOL. 3. GODDESS IN A SHRINE. 4. NUDE GODDESS.
5. BONE STATUETTE



1



2

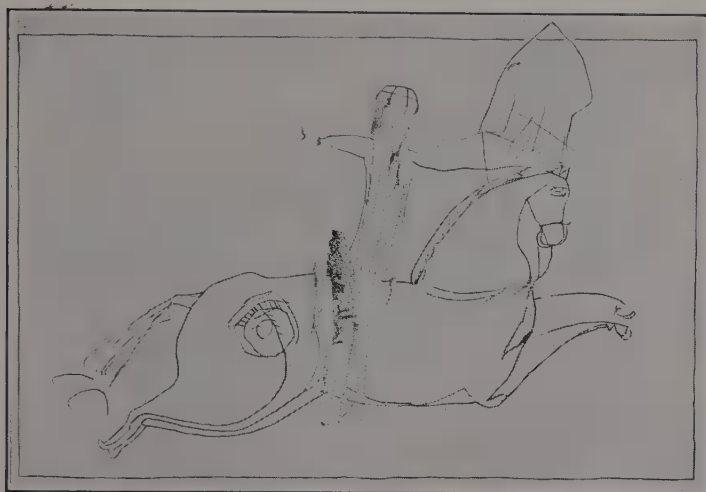


3

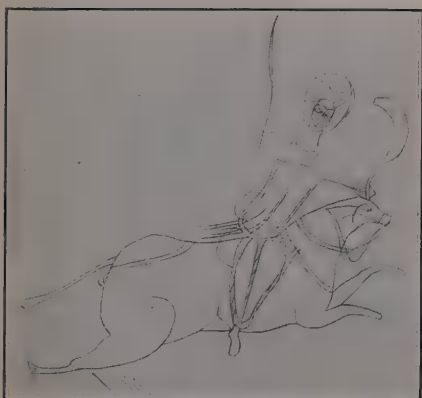


4

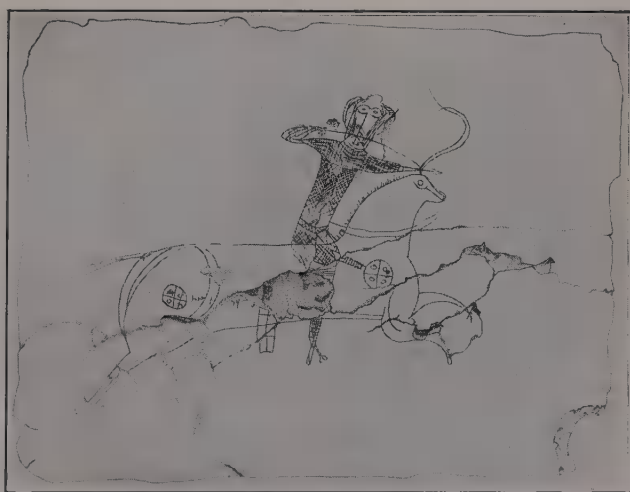
GRAFFITI. 1. MAN. 2. PARTHIAN. 3. PARTHIAN RIDER ON THE HUNT.
4. GROUP OF RUNNING ANIMALS



I



2



3

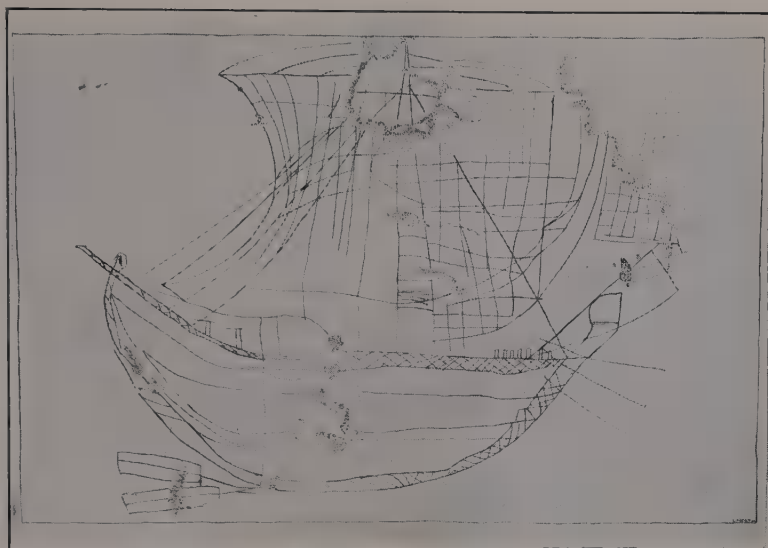
GRAFFITI. I-2. PARTHIAN EQVES SAGITTARIUS. 3. CATAPHRRACTARIUS



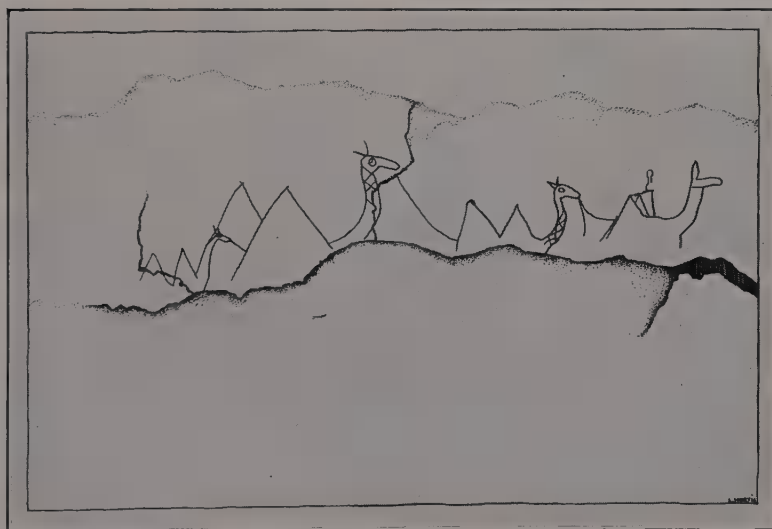
I. TERRA COTTA PLAQUE. BRITISH MUSEUM.
ARMORED HORSEMAN ON LION HUNT



2. GRAFFITO OF A CHARGING CLIBANARIUS



I



2

GRAFFITI. I. SHIP. 2. CARAVAN OF CAMELS



I



2



3

POTTERY. I. TWO EXAMPLES OF FAÏENCE AND ONE OF RED GLAZE WARE.

2. FAÏENCE WARE. 3. EXAMPLES OF GREEN, YELLOW, AND
RED WARE, LAMP



1

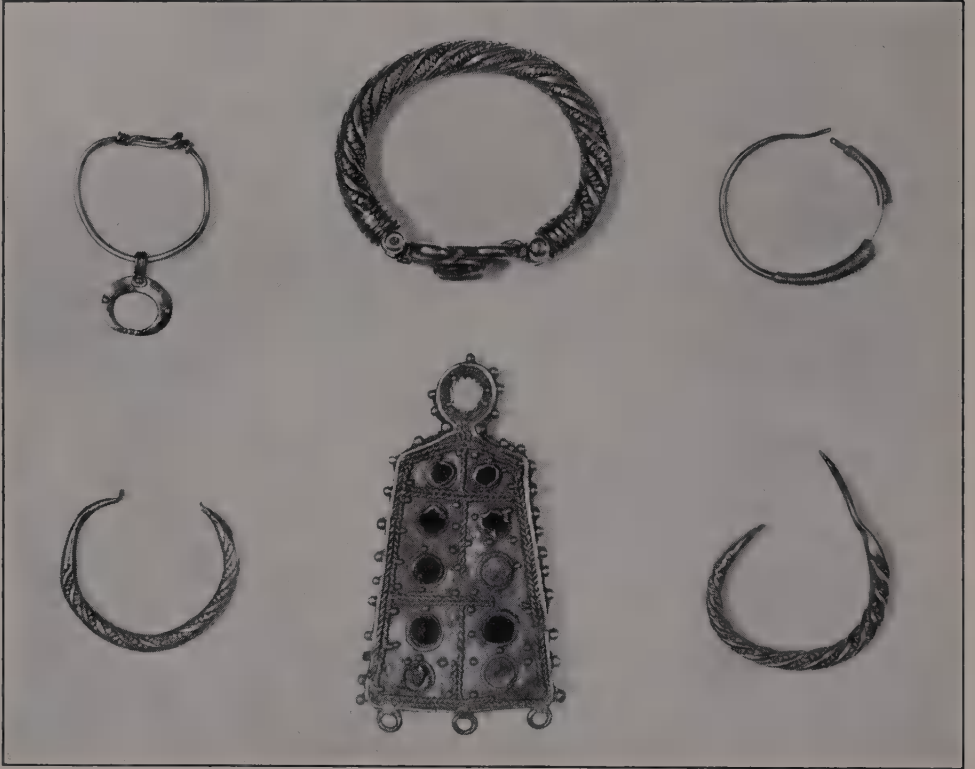


2



3

1-2. SILVER NECKLACE. 3. RECONSTRUCTION



SILVER JEWELRY. 1, 3, 4, 6. EARRINGS. 2. BRACELET. 5. FIBULA SET WITH GARNETS

98745

DS
99
D8
Y3
v.4

98745

Yale university
The excavations
at Dura-Europos

DATE	MY 28 '69	ISSUED TO

Yale
excavations

THEOLOGY LIBRARY
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY AT CLAREMONT
CLAREMONT, CALIFORNIA



PRINTED IN U.S.A.

